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RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THE GREAT RETREAT

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA

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FOREWORD

THE PURPOSE of this book is to show the Communist Revolution in Russia and its aftermath in its correct historical perspective, and in this way to build a solid foundation for the discussion of Russo-American relations so important for the maintenance of peace. To achieve this purpose I have made a study of the main social and cultural trends in Russian life before and after the Revolution. Sources are abundant and diversified on pre-Revolutionary Russia. But material is less abundant and no longer so diversified regarding Russia after the Communist Revolution, since only official or State controlled publications are permitted to appear there. Material of this character forms the main source of my investigation, supplemented by reliable reports of foreign observers, and for the earlier period by personal observations and contacts with people of different social levels, so important for the understanding of the real functioning of a social system.

In this study I have emphasized the last stage of the development, characterized by "The Great Retreat" from purely Communist positions, which started in 1934. There is much less known about The Great Retreat than about the Great Communist Experiment which preceded it, but it deserves the greatest attention, since the Russia of our day—the one with which the United States must co-operate—cannot be understood without a knowledge of the scope and meaning of The Great Retreat.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

September 1, 1945.

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N. S. Timasheff

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION is one of the major events in the history of the twentieth century. It is one of the turning points not only in the history of Russia, but also in universal history. Its result—the creation of a Communist society in Russia—has become a challenge to the Western world, as an invitation to imitation, and at the same time as a threat of forcible transformation.

For many long years the threat of forcible transformation through the International Communist Revolution was in the foreground. Gradually the threat withered away, but the invitation to imitation gained strength. In the early 'thirties the devastating effects of the world crisis were often compared with the marvelous achievements of the Five-Year-Plans in Russia. The conclusion seemed to be evident: that to overcome the disastrous situation of "poverty in conditions of virtual plenty," Western society would have to abandon "the anarchy of capitalist production" and shift to the principle of "planned economy" so brilliantly applied in that unknown country in the East.

Then came war, with Hitler's onslaught on Russia, and the indomitable will to resist displayed by the Russian nation despite initial military catastrophes. The ability of the nation to transform defeat into victory, expel the invader, and make a magnificent contribution to the victory of the anti-Fascist coalition was clearly shown. If this were compared with the tragic collapse of France, the most powerful and typical "capitalist" nation of the European continent, this conclusion could be drawn: that the people did fight for the New Order as embodied in Communist Russia, whereas they did not fight for the

CHAPTER II

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA:

A Dynamic View

1

IT IS THE generally accepted opinion that pre-Revolutionary Russia was a backward and stagnant nation. There are many people who share the view that the Imperial government was reactionary and did what it could to keep the people in a state of patrimonial allegiance to the Tsar and the landlords, and to prevent them from acquiring the culture of advanced nations; that this situation was an indignity, and the awareness of this indignity produced a revolutionary movement which, using the opportunity of a poorly conducted war, overthrew the established order. That when, after a short period of trouble, the Communists gained power, they found the molding of Russia left to their unfettered discretion; that everything was to be rebuilt anew, so they used this opportunity to create an order giving the Russian people access to modern culture—naturally, in the framework of Communist principles.[1]

Are such judgments corroborated by facts? Was, or was not Imperial Russia a backward and stagnant nation?

In order to make our case clear, we must first of all stress the distinction between backwardness and stagnation. When speaking of the backwardness of a person or a social group, we use as a yardstick the development of other persons or groups. An individual is backward if he has not reached the level expected from the members of his class and age group; even an all-inclusive society such as a nation is backward if in some relevant aspects its institutions and culture are on a level which, in

other groups or societies, prevailed in the past, but was replaced by better institutions or kinds of culture.

When speaking of stagnation, we compare the development of a person or social group at two dates sufficiently remote from one another. If we do not notice any significant difference, we say that the person or group is stagnant; if substantial differences are observable, we deny stagnation and state that there has been substantial change.

It is obvious that the evaluations of a given society in terms of backwardness and stagnation are independent of one another: a society may be (1) backward and stagnant; (2) backward but progressing; (3) advanced but stagnant; (4) advanced and progressing. Most preliterate societies are both backward and stagnant. In the 'seventies and 'eighties of the nineteenth century, Japan was backward but rapidly progressing. Between the two World Wars, at least up to 1936, France was an advanced but conspicuously stagnant society. During the same period this country was both advanced and progressing, the last statement being independent of one's like or dislike of the specific features of the boom of the late 'twenties and the advent of the New Deal.

2

Let us now apply these general statements to pre-Revolutionary Russia. It is undeniable that in many aspects pre-Revolutionary Russia was a backward society, especially if compared with England, France, Scandinavia, or this country. Backwardness was especially noticeable in the political field, since it was only a few years before the breakdown of 1917 that Russia had abandoned the autocratic form of government and accepted a constitutional regime, whereas the nations mentioned had already surpassed the level of constitutional monarchy and become democracies (parliamentary monarchies or republics). The backwardness was also very noticeable in the socioeconomic field, since in Russia the capitalist method of production and its symptom, industrialization, were only

beginning, and survivals of the pre-capitalist, or quasi-feudal organization were much more numerous and significant than survivals of feudalism in the countries with which we chose to compare her. The standard of life of Russian peasants was substantially lower than that of British or German farmers. And, when compared with conditions in England or Germany, the state of the labor class was lamentable; wages were low, working hours long, quarters poor; up to 1906, the right of association in trade-unions was denied them, as well as the right to use the weapon of strike.

Russia was an illiterate country, to what extent will be discussed below. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to term pre-Revolutionary Russia a culturally backward country without qualifying this statement. The upper level of Russian society received an education similar to that given in Western Universities and high schools, and the standard of culture production was high. Beginning with the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Russian novel, Russian music, and the Russian theater, especially the Russian ballet, deeply influenced Western European art production; in the field of painting, changes in "schools" were synchronous with those in France, then the leader in that particular field, and sometimes even preceded them.[2]

We have chosen to compare Russia with England, France, Scandinavia, and this country. But quite obviously during the last centuries, these countries have been the leaders of progress. Compared with them, not only Russia was backward, but also a good number of other European countries. Germany and Austria-Hungary belonged to the same type of constitutional monarchy as Russia, and today we know how superficial was the political democracy of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Balkan States. Survivals of the feudal order, especially in the matter of land-distribution, were at least as strong as in Russia, in Ostelbien (i.e., Germany east of the Elbe river), in large parts of Austria-Hungary (namely in those parts which later on formed Czechoslovakia and Hungary proper) and in Rumania.

As regards the standard of living, purely chronological comparisons are unfair. To judge correctly the state of the labor class in Russia late in the nineteenth century, one should rather compare it with that in England in the early nineteenth century, when capitalism was in the state of infancy in that country. Any one who has read Engels' famous book[3] will hardly assert that the Russian government and the Russian industrialists oppressed the labor class more than their British counterparts.

Russia was an illiterate country, but also illiterate were the populations of Portugal,[4] large parts of Spain, southern Italy, the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the Balkan States. In any case, Russia was only one of the members of a respectable company of "backward European nations."

What were the causes of this backwardness? It is usual to link it with the reactionary character of the Imperial Government which, it is taken for granted, opposed any kind of progress. On the other hand, there are social philosophers who ascribe Russia's backwardness to the specific character of her national spirit—the laziness of "the Slavic soul."

The second explanation is actually no explanation at all: to explain something by the "national spirit" is simply to make the trivial statement that major trends in the life of nations depend at least partly on their history, which actually shapes and reshapes what is called "the national spirit."

As regards the first explanation, the following facts should be considered. On the eve of her history (especially in the first half of the eleventh century) Russia was a comparatively advanced country, due to her close connection with Byzantium, then the bearer of civilization.[5] But because of her geographical position, Russia had to be the bulwark of the European civilization against Asiatic nomads. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Russia was conquered by the Tartars and was dominated by them for two-and-a-half centuries. In contradistinction to the Arabs who conquered Spain, and who at about the time of the conquest belonged to the leaders of progress,

the Tartars were barbarians, and their influence on Russia was purely negative. After the yoke had been broken (1480) a century more was needed for the reconquest of the Eastern part of the Russian plain. Thus, three-and-a-half centuries were lost for normal advance. Then a rapid "progressive" movement started; the advance became exceptionally quick under the reign of Peter the Great. During the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, this advance was mainly the work of the autocracy which only later on, and then with interruptions, became an instrument of conservatism, sometimes of reaction. The impulse given by the court was closely followed by the upper level of Russian society, and much less by the other strata; later on this proved to be a source of great difficulty.

Summing up, it may be said that the backwardness of Russia, which was undeniable when Russia was compared with the most advanced nations, was not due to the intentional actions of the government or of the upper classes, but could very well be explained in terms of special conditions under which the Russian nation had to develop.

3

Let us now examine the idea that pre-Revolutionary Russia was a stagnant society, and divide this examination into three parts, paying successive attention to the political, socioeconomic, and cultural aspects of the total situation.

Regarding the political aspect, the examination can be carried out by comparing the political structure of Russia on the eve of the nineteenth century and immediately before the outbreak of World War I. On the eve of the nineteenth century, Russia was an autocracy of the unlimited type, or a despoty. In such circumstances, everything depended on the personality of the monarch: the despoty was "enlightened" under Catherine the Great (1762–1796) and malevolent under Paul (1796–1801).

The beginning of the nineteenth century was characterized

by the first period of "Great Reforms"; under Alexander I (1801–1825) a State Council was created which had to deliberate about drafted statutes; it was composed of the highest dignitaries of the Empire, appointed for life by the Emperor, and its decisions did not bind him. But through its creation the idea of the impersonal rule of law was introduced in Russia, the law meaning the body of rules approved by the Council and ratified by the Emperor. Twice during the reign the idea of granting Russia a Constitution based on elected bodies was considered; it could not be actualized so long as the largest class of the subjects of the Emperor, the peasants, were still in a state of serfdom.

A second period of Great Reforms took place under Alexander II (1856–1881). After the liberation of serfs (1861) a new system of judicial courts was created in which the English and French patterns were merged (1864). Elected justices of peace had to try the minor cases, both civil and criminal; trial by jury was introduced for major criminal cases; a Supreme Court, with the functions of the French *cour de cassation*, was placed at the top of the system. All judges above the level of the justices of peace began to be appointed for life and were granted independence of the wishes and suggestions of the Executive. This reform was a marked success, as well as the introduction of self-government in rural districts, towns, and provinces (1864–1870). Very fortunately for Russia, the large majority of persons elected justices of peace or members of the executive boards of the agencies of self-government (*Zemstovs*) were imbued with the spirit of social service, and not with that of group or class interest. After these reforms, the Russian autocracy ceased to be a despoty: in the large and important spheres of activity of the judicial courts and self-governmental bodies, decisions and actions no longer depended on the mood of the monarch.

Once more a Constitution based on the co-operation of elected bodies with the government was envisaged, and once more the idea was not realized, this time because Emperor Alexander II was killed by revolutionists (who hated the pros-

pect of peaceful advancement) the very day he had signed a manifesto on the Constitution.

A third period of Great Reforms marked the second half of the reign of Emperor Nicholas II. Under the pressure of defeat by Japan, the Russian autocracy was forced to abdicate. This time a Chamber of Representatives (the State Duma) was created (1905–6) and no law could any longer be enacted without the consent of this body. Russia had not become a democracy: the franchise at the elections of the Duma was restricted and unequal, and the Emperor retained the right of veto. The new structure did not function smoothly, but the decisive, the most difficult step towards democracy was made, and a further advance, through expanded franchise and gradual approximation to the type of parliamentary monarchy seemed probable. Under the impact of the Constitutional Reform, the administrative system substantially improved. A new spirit was inculcated into quite a few governmental activities, especially those dealing with the agrarian reform; perhaps it was the same beneficial spirit of social service which had first appeared in the 'sixties of the nineteenth century.

In any case, the distance covered by Russia between 1801 and 1914 on the road of political development was a long one. There was significant advance, and not stagnation. Perhaps some more could have been and ought to have been achieved. But the events of 1917 have given experimental proof of the fact that Russia was not yet ready to become a democracy—overnight.

Socioeconomic advance began later than political advance, but proceeded with much greater velocity. The impulse was given by the liberation of serfs (1861). In contrast with what happened in other European countries, in Russia the liberated serfs, now free peasants, received not only personal freedom, but also a large part of the land which they had tilled under the landlord. They had to pay for this land, but the State immediately compensated the landlords, and the peasants had to pay the State in installments. These payments might have been too high. In 1906 the peasants were liberated from paying the

balance. In opposition to ideas spread outside of Russia,[6] no juridical bonds whatsoever remained between the peasants and their former landlords.

It proves how wrong the frequently recurring assumption is that not until the Russian Revolution of 1917 had land been given to Russian peasants.[7] Already at the time of the Emancipation, they had received more than half of the arable soil of European Russia, namely 148 million hectares (*vs.* 89 million which remained the property of the landlords, and eight million which were the property of the State).

Half a century later, on the eve of World War I, the situation was quite different. Only 44 million hectares were still the property of landlords; the rest, as well as about six million hectares of State lands, had been bought by peasants. In 1916, the peasants owned 80 per cent of the arable soil of European Russia and rented from the owners half of the residue.[8]

The process of liquidating large estates took place with the help of the government, which in the years of 1882 and 1885 created special banks for that purpose. The speed of the process increased with every decade. During the last decade before World War I, the peasants' possessions expanded nearly as much as in all the preceding forty years. Twenty years more of peaceful development with the same trend, and the landlords in Russia might have become only a historical reminiscence.

Unfortunately, the Act of Emancipation did not give land, as individual property, to peasant families, but made it the property of agrarian communities, the so-called *mir*, composed of groups of homesteads.[9] This land was divided and, after a certain number of years, redistributed among the homesteads; every homestead received a portion of every field or of every subdivision of the field; land was allotted to the separate homesteads in the ratio of the number of family members or, in certain parts of Russia, of adult male workers in the homesteads. For the corresponding period the allotments had to be cultivated individually; but almost everywhere local custom imposed upon the homesteads the obligation of allowing the

cattle of the village to be pastured on fallow ground until late in the summer; a definite rotation of crops was also imposed by the *mir.*

This structure was a very unfortunate one. On the one hand, it inhibited advance in agricultural technique. Could a peasant be expected to invest money, or even his labor, in land which by the next redistribution might be assigned to another homestead? Only improvements effected collectively, by the total community, were economically possible. But how could one persuade a community to depart from the ways of its fathers and forefathers, since it is the very nature of a community to maintain and enforce such ways?

On the other hand, since the size of the allotment granted to an individual homestead depended on the size of the family, it was economically advantageous to breed large families. It was well known in rural Russia that larger homesteads used to do better than small ones, even if both tilled the same number of acres *per capita.*

Thus, the structure favored an unlimited increase of the rural population without providing for additional means of subsistence. Moreover, the psychological effects of the *mir* structure should not be disregarded: having no land of their own, the Russian peasants could not develop that strong respect for property which characterizes Western farmers and makes (or at least made) them the foundation of social stability.

However, near the end of the period studied, the relation of peasants to their land was substantially changed. A provisional law of November 9, 1906—which on June 10, 1910, and May 29, 1911, was replaced by definitive ones—allowed the peasants to separate their allotments from the agrarian communities. They could become private owners of the allotments which they possessed in the common fields and, if they wished, have their portions united into one allotment and their houses and stalls rebuilt there with governmental help. This was the famous Stolypin * reform which, once peacefully carried out, would have been

* Prime-Minister, 1906–1911.

one of the greatest agrarian revolutions known to history. The peasants seemed to have been won over by the sound doctrine that only increased production by means of improved technique could help them, and that this was feasible only without agrarian communities. On January 1, 1916, 6.2 million homesteads (out of the total number of approximately 16 million) had made application to become separated in the near future.[10] Had the movement continued with the same speed, agrarian communities would no longer have existed by the year 1935.

Naturally, the reform was not a panacea. First of all, for many parts of Russia it came too late and was no longer sufficient. Secondly, using the opportunities of the Stolypin laws was an excellent solution of the problem for the rich and well-to-do peasants, but the poor ones lost even the possibility of survival on their dwarf farms after their more fortunate neighbors had forsaken the community. The chief trouble was that the fallow grounds at their disposal were no longer large enough for pasturing their cattle. Their homesteads would have to disappear, and they had either to go to the cities, where industry was rapidly advancing, or to be resettled on free land in the Asiatic part of the Empire.

Stolypin explicitly recognized that his program aimed at the stabilization of Russian society on the firm foundation of well-to-do farmers. To accelerate the migration movement towards Siberia, a large program of land reclamation was started there simultaneously with the agrarian reform.

Despite the handicaps inherent in the *mir* structure, which only began to be overcome when the First World War broke out, economic progress in the Russian countryside was undeniable. From 1900 to 1913, the area sown with cereals increased by 8%. The use of fertilizers jumped from 0.2 million tons in 1908, to 0.5 million in 1913. Between 1896 and 1913, the net harvest increased by 38%.[11] There was also a substantial increase in cattle; the number of horses increased from 25.6 million in 1895, to 35.8 in 1916, and that of horned cattle from 31.6 million in 1895, to 60.6 million in 1916.[12]

No less important was the progress of industry. Witte and

Mendeleyev, a Minister of Finance (1893–1903) and a great scientist, understood that the future of Russia rested in a reasonable exploitation of the tremendous industrial possibilities of the country. Under the impulse of a well-conceived governmental policy, the number of industrial workers doubled from 1890 to 1913 (from one-and-a-half million to three million) and the production of large-scale industry increased four times (from one-and-a-half billion rubles to six billion). Especially important was the increase in the production of producers' goods. From 1888 to 1913, the output of coal increased from 5.3 to 29 million tons, or five-and-a-half times; that of cast iron from 0.7 to 4 million tons, or also five-and-a-half times; that of oil from 3.2 to 9 million tons, or 2.8 times. One might be tempted to explain these high indexes of increase by the exiguity of the absolute figures: when industry is in the age of infancy, the relative figures are always high. However, one would be wrong, since from 1863 to 1888, i.e., for an equal period of time as that just discussed, the output of cast iron had only doubled.[13]

The progress was spread through all the branches of industry. From 1910 to 1914, the output of the machine building plants doubled. The number of spindles operated by cotton mills increased from three-and-a-half million in 1890 to nine-and-a-quarter million in 1913; correspondingly, in 1913 Russia consumed three times as much raw cotton as in 1890. From 1890 to 1913, sugar production increased four times; from 1895 to 1910, the sugar consumption *per capita* increased by 120%.[14]

The obvious conclusion is that around 1890 a very important change took place in the economic structure and mentality of Russia: she ceased to consider herself as a purely agricultural nation and resolutely entered a period of industrialization.

If we acknowledge this to be true, we must stop expressing indignation about the lamentable conditions of the Russian labor class; instead we must give consideration to the fact that as early as the 'eighties, a protective labor legislation limiting the labor day, especially of women and children, and prohibiting female night work was enacted; that in 1906, strikes ceased to be a punishable offense; that in 1912, two decades earlier than in this country, the scheme of social security was inaugurated in Russia covering, in the beginning, the risks involved in industrial accidents and sickness.[15] Throughout the years of industrial advance, the labor day was shortened, wages increased, and the standard of living slowly but steadily improved.[16]

An additional symptom of economic advance is to be found in the development of the railways. The first line was built in Russia in 1837. But before the liberation of the serfs the progress was slow (1,400 miles in 1861). Later on, the velocity of the process became quite remarkable. The greatest achievement was the construction, in 1891–1905, of the Trans-Siberian railway (4,000 miles). In 1900, Russia possessed 36,000 miles of railways, and 49,000 on the eve of World War I. In this regard her place was second only to that of this country.

A very careful study of the movement of national income in Russia carried out by Professor S. N. Prokopowicz (a socialist, and therefore a person hardly inclined to overestimate the achievements of Imperial Russia), yielded the information that it jumped from 6.6 billion rubles in 1900 to 11.8 billion in 1913, an increase of 79.4%. Since the price index in 1913 was higher than in 1900, a net increase of 39.4% is left. The population having increased by 19.1%, the final result is that in the course of 13 years, the real *per capita* income increased by 17.1%, an achievement not often surpassed in the economic development of nations.[17]

Summarily, it may be said that only a deliberate distortion of facts or crass ignorance would permit one to speak of economic stagnation in pre-Revolutionary Russia.

The liberation of the serfs, the processes studied above relating to agriculture, the start of industrialization, and the expansion of railways gave tremendous impetus to the Russian nation, which responded by an extraordinarily rapid increase in population. The total population of Russia increased from 70 million at the time of the liberation of serfs, to 127 million in 1897 (date of the First Census) and to 167 million at the

outbreak of World War I.[18] The average increase in population, without any immigration, was 16 per thousand a year, a ratio almost without precedent in a great country over a long period. In many cities the number of inhabitants increased four times or even more during half a century. The speed of the development was comparable with that of this country.

In regard to the intellectual phase of social life, up to the liberation of serfs and the creation of local self-government, the masses remained in a state of crass ignorance. Then, under the impulse of the liberal reforms of Emperor Alexander II, especially through the activity of the *Zemstvos,* a system of public education arose in Russia which progressed with increasing speed up to the outbreak of the First World War, and by that time had granted literacy to a large part of the younger generation. A law of May 3, 1908,[19] proclaimed the principle of making public education available to all children of the nation. A complicated system of State subsidies to the local bodies was introduced with the aim of creating an adequate school system in ten years. In the course of three years a number of *Zemstvos* carried out a third part of the program: erecting new buildings, repairing old ones, improving equipment, and raising the salaries of the teachers.[20] If the peaceful development had continued, from 1920 on all Russian children of school age would have had access to the primary school.

This statement so completely contradicts the common ideas about the state of public education in pre-Revolutionary Russia that they ought to be confirmed by figures. In 1880, the population of Russia was 98 million, and the number of pupils in elementary schools 1,141,000, or 1.16% of the total population. In 1915, the population of Russia was 165 million, and the number of pupils 8,147,000, or 4.93%.*

The figures are conclusive; the school population increased much quicker than the total population, as reflected in the fact that, in the course of thirty-five years, the index of education increased 4.2 times. This is an objective proof of the efforts made by Imperial Russia for the advance of popular education.

* For more details, see Table 6 in Appendix II.

What have been the results of these efforts? In this respect, reliable data may be found in the census of 1897.

Out of 90.3 million inhabitants above the age of ten, 25.8 million, or 27.8% were literate. Naturally, there were high differentials between men and women; between towns and the countryside; between the population of Russia proper, of the more advanced western provinces with a population of non-Russian origin, and the semicolonial territories (Caucasus, Siberia, Central Asia). In 1897, 38.5% of the men and 17.5% of the women were literate; likewise, 54% of the urban *vs.* 23% of the rural population; 89.5% of the population of the Baltic provinces, 41.2% of the population of the Polish provinces, 26.8% of the population of Russia proper, and only 13.3% of the population of the semicolonial territories.* Highly important, for our purposes, is the distribution of literacy among the age groups. In 1897, 34% of the Russians between the ages of 10 and 20 were literate. For the age groups 30 to 40, 50 to 60, and over 60, the percentages were respectively 27%, 19%, and 13%.

The meaning of these figures is clear: the younger the people, the greater was their literacy. In other words chronologically the later a group of Russian people reached school age, the greater was their chance of being given education.

What were the results of the educational efforts about 1914, on the eve of the First World War and the Revolution? Since, after 1897, no census was taken in Imperial Russia, no direct evidence is available. However, it is possible to make an estimate which yields the index of literacy as 40.2% for 1914.[21]

The progress of literacy may also be seen from these facts: Among army recruits (young men of 21) 21.4% were literate in 1874, 37.8% in 1894, 55.5% in 1904, and 67.8% in 1914. A census of industrial workers taken in 1918 showed that the index of literacy of workers between 14 and 20 years of age was 77.1%, while among those between 30 and 35, the index was 64.8%, and among those older than 50 it was 43.4%.[22]

* When comparing the state of education in Russia with that in Western countries, one must not forget that Russia contains a number of peoples whose cultural development corresponds to that of the population of the colonies of the Western powers.

The advance between 1897 and 1914 appears to have been remarkable, but the goal of overcoming illiteracy was still far ahead. It was very difficult to reach it because of the rapid increase of the population. Every year the agencies of public education substantially increased the number of pupils in elementary schools; but for many years (namely, 1898–1908) this increase was almost exactly equal to the increase of the number of children of school age, so that the absolute number of children who were not granted access to schooling remained unchanged.

Cultural advance was not limited to elementary education. From 1894 to 1914, the number of pupils in secondary schools increased from 225,000 to 820,000, and the number of students in universities and other institutions for higher education from 15,000 to 80,000.[23]

Once more, then, it can be noted: there was no cultural stagnation in pre-Revolutionary Russia, since the nation very rapidly advanced towards the goal of "universal elementary education," and at the same time made great efforts to promote secondary and higher education.

In the realm of art, the early twentieth century was most brilliant. This was a period when the best poems of A. Block appeared, the Russian poet commonly held second only to Pushkin; when the philosophically and religiously minded Merezhkovsky was contrasted with Gorki, the prophet of the coming revolution; when the magnificent circle *Mir Iskusstva* (The World of Art) brought Russian painting to its climax; when the Russian theater blossomed, headed by Stanislavski, the realist, and Meyerhold, the formalist; when the Russian ballet was unsurpassed; when Scriabin, Stravinsky, and Prokofieff showed new ways to music. These were the years when, through the vision and energy of Diaghilev, Russian art, especially music and ballet, made their appearance in Western Europe, were accepted as a revelation, and gained eminence. If this was stagnation, then what should a nation achieve to be dynamic?

4

On the basis of the evidence produced in the preceding section, one may safely assert that the Russian Revolution could not have been caused by stagnation since, in pre-Revolutionary Russia, there was nothing of the kind. In politics, economics, and culture pre-Revolutionary Russia was a rapidly advancing nation displaying tremendous efforts to overcome the retardation imposed on it by a chain of unfavorable historical circumstances. Change took place in the same direction as in more advanced Western societies, the institutions and techniques of which were often regarded by the Russians as ideals to be imitated, often on the basis of an erroneous, too optimistic interpretation of their significance and impact on human life.

Was everything, then, bright and promising in pre-Revolutionary Russia? Of course not. Advance took place in all major fields of social and cultural life, but so much was to be done that numerous remnants of the dark past continued to exist. Among the most conspicuous were the persecution of certain groups of religious dissenters, substantially mitigated in 1905, and the persecution of some national minorities, very unfortunately aggravated at the beginning of the 'eighties in the nineteenth century, when the policy of Russification superseded the earlier "Imperial" policy, or the tendency to treat all the ethnic groups of Russia as equal partners in the great cooperative effort of building up an Empire.[24]

Moreover, the rapid advance accumulated difficulties because it was unequally distributed, and such inequalities always produce social tensions analogous to those which originated in a mechanical system of weight united by elastic ties —if you move part of the weights to the capacity extension of the ties, other ones only a little, and the residue not at all. What were these tensions?

A tension was created by the discrepancy between the rapid increase of the rural population and the slow advance of agricultural technique. The agrarian problem, ingrained in the very

nature of the *mir* structure, was a very serious one: on the eve of the twentieth century, there existed in the heart of Russia regions characterized by relative agrarian overpopulation, and a large percentage of peasants in these areas experienced a decrease in food supply, despite the improvement of the economic conditions in the countryside as a whole. As often happens, the objective situation was wrongly rationalized by those concerned. It was interpreted by peasants in terms of social injustice personified in the very existence of landlords. The confused doctrine that land was God's and should belong to those who tilled it appeared and formed the background for agrarian unrest and riots. Today we know that this reflection of objective facts was quite wrong: the wholesale redistribution of land under the Communist Revolution was not and could not have been of any good to peasants; the only way out of their difficulties was the improvement of technique, and one of the possible premises for such an improvement was created by the Stolypin agrarian reform. Despite all its shortcomings, it can be asserted that the first and basic tension in pre-Revolutionary Russia decreased during the last decade before the Revolution.

Another tension was created by the disharmony between the relatively slow and intermittent advance in political forms and the very quick advance in economic and cultural fields. The growth of industry was accomplished by the rise of a liberal bourgeoisie and of a turbulent proletariat. The growth of education resulted in the rise of a numerous *intelligentsia*—a special Russian term, now adopted also in English, to designate a group of intellectual workers considering it their duty to struggle for far-reaching social and political reforms. This discrepancy was the root of the revolutionary movement which persisted in Russia in the course of the last fifty years before the collapse of 1917, and was more or less openly supported by many liberals who, in the threat of a revolution, saw an excellent means to extort concessions from the government.

The conflict between the government and the rising social forces was a dangerous one. However, the difficulty was not

insuperable, and early in the twentieth century began to decrease. It was the Constitutional Reform which mainly contributed to the mitigation of the tension; important groups among the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals considered that, after that reform, the revolutionary movement should no longer be supported.

The third tension was the result of the discrepancy between the rapid advance of education among the higher strata of Russian society, under the impulsion of the Petrinian reform, and the retardation of the advance of the lower strata, in conditions already studied. This discrepancy resulted in an estrangement between the cultural *élite* and the "people." This estrangement was a serious and dangerous problem, especially in a society where the additional tensions studied above were present. But, since the tension was largely due to the low cultural level of the masses, the rapid advance of education promised to put an end to this situation; but a certain lapse of time was still necessary for it.

Thus, all the important social tensions were on the decline at the beginning of the twentieth century, owing to the Constitutional Reform of 1905–6, the Stolypin agrarian reform, the laws on social security, and the rapid advance of education and industrialization which opened up new horizons to large groups of the population. This general line of development was well expressed in the curve of the revolutionary movement. This movement reached its first apex in 1881, when Emperor Alexander II, the liberator of serfs, was murdered. The second apex coincided with the Japanese war and resulted in the Constitutional Reform. The later years were characterized by a steady decline in the number of revolutionary acts and in governmental reprisals.*

On the basis of evidence so far produced, the following diagnosis of pre-Revolutionary Russia seems to be correct: pre-Revolutionary Russia was a backward but highly dynamic

* Before the revolution of 1905–6, the average number of capital executions in Russia (where only political offenses were punishable by death) was 15 per year.

society. Her dynamism was mainly caused by the apprehension of her backwardness and the desire to overcome it. This dynamism was disharmonious and produced dangerous social tensions. But since the beginning of the century, these tensions decreased. Pre-Revolutionary Russia needed a few decades more of peace to be transformed into a society no longer conspicuously backward as compared with the West, and no longer endowed with dangerous tensions.[25] Russia was well on the way towards entering the family of nations enjoying the advantages of modern civilization. Consequently, the Communist experiment to which she was submitted after 1917 could not have the significance of an introduction into that family, as assumed by those who wrongly think of pre-Revolutionary Russia as a hopeless wilderness.

Chapter III

THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

A Dark Horse

1

In the picture of pre-Revolutionary Russia just outlined, those to whom the role of Russia's rulers was assigned after the breakdown of the old order were not even mentioned by name. This is not an accidental omission: in pre-Revolutionary Russia the role of the Communists, who then were called Bolsheviks, was infinitesimal.

However, it is easy to locate them in the general picture. They formed a party of the Revolutionary Movement which, in its totality, was a substantial social force declining in its importance after the Constitutional Reform of 1905–6, and characterized by strong dissensions in its midst.

These dissensions did not prevent the movement from being unified in one significant aspect: it was mainly socialist, laying stress on the establishment of a new social order, and considering political change merely as a means towards the end of social revolution.[1] But right here the agreement stopped. As early as the 'eighties of the nineteenth century, the Russian socialists were divided into two main camps continuing two famous lines of Russian thought: the Slavophiles and the Westerners.[2]

Continuing the trend of the Slavophiles the Populists, later on called Socialist-Revolutionists, asserted that Russia ought to progress according to her own ways, different from those of Western Europe; particularly, that Russia could attain the happiness of Socialism without passing through the degradation of Capitalism. This was possible because of the predominantly agrarian character of the nation, and because of the preserva-

On this basis, the following preliminary conclusions may be drawn:

1. The inner necessity to rule the country on the basis of dictatorship is a strong argument in favor of the shock-hypothesis as formulated in this work.

2. The persistence of dictatorship proves that the shock situation which obtained in 1917 has not yet been completely liquidated.

3. The liquidation of dictatorship would be tantamount to the final liquidation of the shock situation—in other words, to the termination of the attempts to impose policies contrary to the will of the governed. Vice versa, the termination of such attempts would eliminate the very reason for the existence of the dictatorial system.

Chapter VI

THE ECONOMIC TRANSFIGURATION:

The Goal Was Just Around the Corner

1

Dictatorship was not the ultimate end of those who created it, operated it, and profited from it. The ultimate end of the Communist leaders was the creation, through dictatorship, of a new society on the basis of the Marxist doctrine. Since the Marxists held that the social organization of production is the very foundation of every society, and that all other phases of social and cultural life depend on that organization, they thought that the economic transfiguration of Russia was paramount. In capitalist society the means of production, i.e., land, factories, raw material, money, belong to a few who form the masters' class. In socialist society the private ownership of the means of production must be abolished, and the collective property of these means established. In this way the division of society in classes is destroyed, and with it the very source of inequality.

The attempts to realize this program inevitably met strong resistance. In Russia the typical "masters," in the Marxist interpretation of this term, i.e., the landlords and businessmen, were not numerous and could be easily crushed. But the majority of the Russian people consisted of peasants, "little masters" in Lenin's terminology, strongly imbued with the "bourgeois" spirit. In their actions they were determined by economic self-interest and had no stronger desire than to acquire more land, not for the collectivity, but for themselves—if necessary, at the expense of their neighbors. The hostility to Marxist plans of the little masters from the countryside was so

implacable, and they were so numerous and so obviously irreplaceable as food producers, that a basic distinction had to be made from the start—namely, between urban and rural areas. Only the former could be submitted to speedy social and economic transformation; in the latter case, the "little masters" were to be given satisfaction. To that end the First Agrarian Revolution * was launched and carried out by the Soviet government with the support of the rural population, but in direct contradiction to the Communist doctrine.

The Russian Communists were orthodox Marxists. According to their opinion, only concentrated production could be efficient; therefore, land should be expropriated in totality and large estates created and managed by representatives of the victorious proletariat in the same way as factories. This was obviously inacceptable for the village. Therefore, the land-decree of November 8, 1917 (enacted the day after the successful upheaval) was inspired not by the Communist, but by the Populist program.[1] Land (landlords' as well as peasants') was nationalized without any indemnity. The landowners' estates disappeared. The principal tension which existed in rural Russia before the revolution, that between landlords and peasants, ceased to exist. Those lands which, in the years 1861–1917, had been bought by peasants were united with the *mirs*. Richer peasants lost their land-surpluses; but they remained members of agrarian communities and were therefore not entirely despoiled. The new farms created by the Stolypin reform were also subjected to the process of equalization; frequently they were simply reincluded in the agrarian communities, and their owners became *mir* peasants. According to the Populist program, hiring agricultural workers and leasing land was forbidden; every family was to cultivate its allotment by its own means. If these means were insufficient, the land was to be partitioned anew.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the First Agrarian Revolution did not engender rural socialism: after the reform, the head of the homestead remained a "little master," individ-

* The Second Agrarian Revolution took place in 1929–30.

ually tilling his allotment and selling the surplus on the market. Therefore, he continued being motivated in his acts by the prerevolutionary principle of self-interest.

Except for a few State and collective farms retained as springboards for a later offensive,* the agrarian revolution in the Populist style was carried out throughout the country. The increase of the surface of land tilled by peasants was not and could not be substantial since, as we already know, in 1917 the landed estates did not comprise much arable land and, moreover, almost half of such land was leased to the peasants. Therefore, the increase in the area tilled by the peasants did not exceed eight per cent; for an additional eight per cent, the peasants no longer had to pay rent. The exiguity of the increase was a great disappointment to the peasants, who were used to comparing their small allotments with the big estates and expected wonders from "the black partition" (wholesale equalization of land holdings) forgetting how numerous they were and how small the number of the estates.

Moreover, the Populist ideal of achieving complete equality throughout rural Russia—perhaps of transforming her into one gigantic *mir*—was not reached. Landlords' estates were distributed throughout the country in an irregular way. They were more numerous and larger in districts where the villages were relatively not overcrowded, and less numerous and smaller in districts where agrarian overpopulation existed. According to the Populist program, such inequality was to have been corrected by redistributing the population through the country. But there was civil war, and the Soviet government did not care for such plans. It left the peasants free to arrange their affairs as they liked. The intensity of equalization was quite different in various districts; in general, the section composed of central and eastern Russia was submitted to this principle with more rigor than the northern, western and southern provinces.

* State farms were tilled by workers hired by State agencies. Collective farms of that period were "agrarian communes" on which farm hands were settled with the instruction to till land corporately and to share the output in a brotherly manner.

On the other hand, the so-called "black partition" was not a sudden act, but lasted through the whole period; land redistribution took place again and again, depriving the peasants of the feeling of security, and making the situation in villages a chaotic one.[2]

The wholesale return to the *mir* system signified the destruction of the germs of agricultural progress which had accumulated since the Stolypin reform, and the inhibition of all incentives for technical improvement and investment. Naturally, the crops fell below their previous, already low level. This meant a substantial deterioration of the situation, more than compensating for the insignificant gain from the acquisition of the landed estates.

In the countryside, the Utopia of the Populists was tried and refuted by experience. In urban areas, the same occurred with the Marxist Utopia. In the very beginning, the new rulers did not destroy the private ownership of industrial and commercial enterprises and were satisfied with placing them under "the workers' control," i.e., making the owner dependent on the decision of a workers' committee. The final solution was, however, "collective ownership" of the means of production, completely eliminating the "bourgeoisie," but also eliminating the claims of the individual groups of workers on the factories where they worked.

Two aspects were involved in the realization of the program: nationalization or the breakdown of legal ties between the economic units and their former owners, and the reorganization of industry and commerce on the basis of subservience to collective needs.

Nationalization was an easy task, since the owners were not in a position to resist. This task was carried out by a series of decrees, part of which directly nationalized specified groups of enterprises, whereas others conferred on specified agencies the right to nationalize those economic units which they considered fit.[3] On the basis of these decrees, almost the totality of industrial and commercial enterprises, as well as almost all the "dwelling space" in towns and cities were taken over from

their former owners and incorporated into the collective domain of the nation, to speak in the style of the epoch.

After having nationalized the majority of economic units, the new rulers had to organize them into a system which would operate at least as well as the capitalist one had. At this point, extremely difficult problems arose. First, in capitalist society the economic process goes on as the result of the activity of an indeterminate number of economic agents motivated by economic self-interest. This interest was to be replaced by something else. According to the Doctrine, the incentive of social service had to emerge. Very soon it appeared that this was not the case. The second difficulty was that of replacing by a workable scheme the automatic price mechanism existing in capitalist society and depending on the free market. By whom and how were the prices to be determined? Or perhaps ought money to be abolished in order to evade the problem? But, then, what device could replace it? The third difficulty was that of securing smooth adjustment between socialist economics in urban areas and individualistic economics in the countryside.

To face such problems, the new rulers had no plans whatsoever. Very probably they did not even suspect that such problems would emerge. Lenin had in mind only the vague idea of "the unique factory" unifying all branches of production under a single direction, approximately as Ford unifies all particular processes which converge in the production of automobiles.

Since no original idea was present in the minds of the new rulers, and the situation demanded an immediate solution, imitation of an already experienced pattern was the natural response. Such a pattern was found in the structure improperly called German War Communism. The new rulers were well acquainted with it through a series of brilliant articles published, under the Imperial regime, by the Communist, Lurie-Larin, in one of the most respectable, liberal, but by no means socialist journals of Russia.

However, the pattern was imitated with a substantial change.

In Germany, the councils of the semipublic corporations which, in the course of the war, regulated the economic life comprised a large number of businessmen. Early in 1918, Russian industrialists offered Lenin a plan of the same kind. After deliberation, he rejected the offer; according to his doctrine, former owners necessarily would be guided by their class-consciousness and therefore act in opposition to the interests of the Communist Revolution.

Therefore, "the single factory" was organized according to an entirely bureaucratic pattern. Every nationalized enterprise was placed under the orders of a director whose selection depended upon his loyality, with complete lack of regard for his business experience. If the enterprise was big, he was aided by a staff of men of the same type. Above the director a cluster of co-ordinating agencies was created, both on territorial and functional bases, with vaguely delimited and usually overlapping jurisdiction. The structure was crowned by a number of "Central Boards," such as that of the Textile or the Coal Industry, which in their turn were headed by the Supreme Council of National Economy consisting of numerous departments and sections, always in flux. The chairman of the Council had the rank of a People's Commissar; in his person, the system was incorporated into the total system of the new Soviet bureaucracy.

The rulers expected that the new directors would act approximately as the old-style managers did and thus keep the process of production and exchange going on. But they did not and could not do so. First of all, the degree of their preparedness for the assigned tasks was very low.[4] Secondly, they were not stimulated as economic agents in capitalist society are: they received their monthly salary independently of the economic results of their activity, and held their positions so long as their loyalty remained above suspicion. Thirdly, the structure being entirely bureaucratic, the responsibility of the managers of individual enterprises was restricted to technical matters. The entire commercial side of their work, which formerly was made up a series of operations of free economic

agents, was henceforth to be a part of the complex system of operations effected by State agencies. Requests for raw material, fuel, and so on were sent from below upwards, while orders to manufacture certain commodities and distribute them traveled in the opposite direction. The principle of unity required almost all requests to travel the full length of the administrative channel to the central organization, and every order to make the return journey to the local enterprise. The number of questions that had thus to be settled in Moscow was beyond imagining.

The situation was further complicated by the equalitarian trend involved in Communist mentality, especially as understood on the lower levels of the new society. It is true that the leaders never ordered the equalization of all wages and salaries. But the general tendency was to decrease social distances, and to pay technicians and skilled labor only a little more than unskilled labor. With the advance of inflation, which had started before the Revolution but gained momentum after it, monetary remuneration became more symbolic than real, and the remuneration in kind, on the basis of ration books, depended not on an individual's skill and efficiency, but on his membership in a more or less privileged class. In this way, the most powerful incentive for efficient work was lost: good work, poor work, or no work at all—the material situation of an individual was not affected.

The inefficiency of the system was acknowledged hundreds of times by those who created and operated it—after they had shifted to another, better system. For many years the specter of an eventual return to War Communism terrified all minds. The situation was aggravated through the fact that the system was operated in the course of a Civil War demanding the highest efficiency to maintain tolerable conditions of life.

There exists no means to determine whether the inefficiency of the economic system or the Civil War contributed more to the disaster. But the magnitude of the catastrophe may be measured. Regarding industry, it is expressed in the fact that, in 1920, the industrial output was approximately 18 per cent

of that of 1913.* The collapse of industry became the starting point for further disastrous developments. Since the government rightly considered that the cities were its strongholds, the curtailed industrial output was almost entirely distributed among the urban population. For the countryside, nothing was left. The peasants were at that time individual producers. Their response to the new situation was the natural response of such producers. They decreased the cultivated area and the number of cattle in order to have no more surpluses, which had become useless. This signified starvation for the towns, industrial districts, and the army. The new government could not allow it. Bread and other products of agriculture could no longer be bought in villages; consequently, they had to be taken away by force. A general obligation of supplying the State with products of agriculture was imposed.[5] In many cases, the requisition did not leave enough food for the survival of the rural population and their cattle. The resistance of peasants was broken by military expeditions. The civil war between Reds and Whites was complicated by a civil war between towns and villages.

Rationing had to be introduced in cities, and the class principle was applied to its organization: manual workers came first, intellectual workers came second, and the members of the former upper classes received nothing. The rations were quite unsatisfactory even at face value and, in practice, still less was distributed. To survive, the urban population, including the bureaucracy and the Party members, had to use the services of "bag-bearers" or "speculators," i.e., of illegal traders who, under tremendous hardships and always exposed to prosecution and even execution, performed a kind of barter trade between city dwellers who gave away all durable goods they possessed (such as plates, dishes, watches, clothes) and the peasants who were eager to acquire some real things for part of their production.

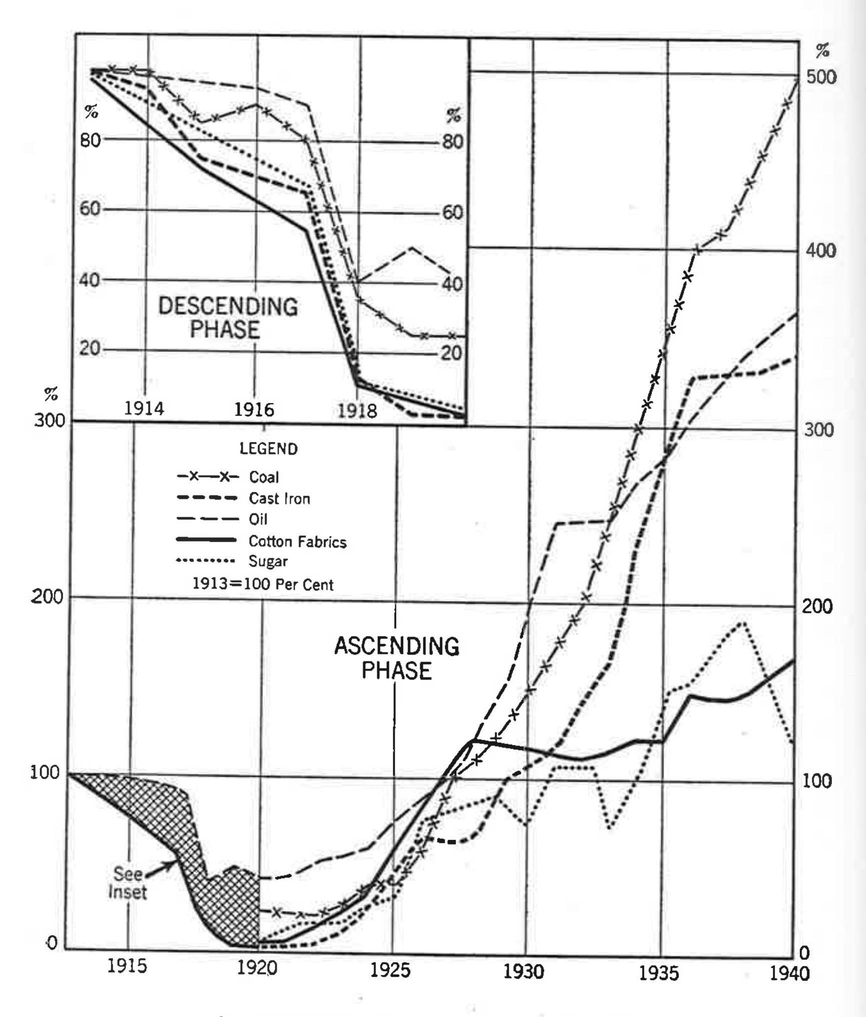
* The basic figures as to the output of industry and agriculture in the course of the Communist period of Russian history are collected in Appendix II, tables 2 and 4; see also Charts II and III.

Russia has never been a rich country; the socioeconomic degradation of the years 1917–21 made her no longer self-sufficient. When in 1921 the climatic conditions were exceptionally bad, this resulted in famine.

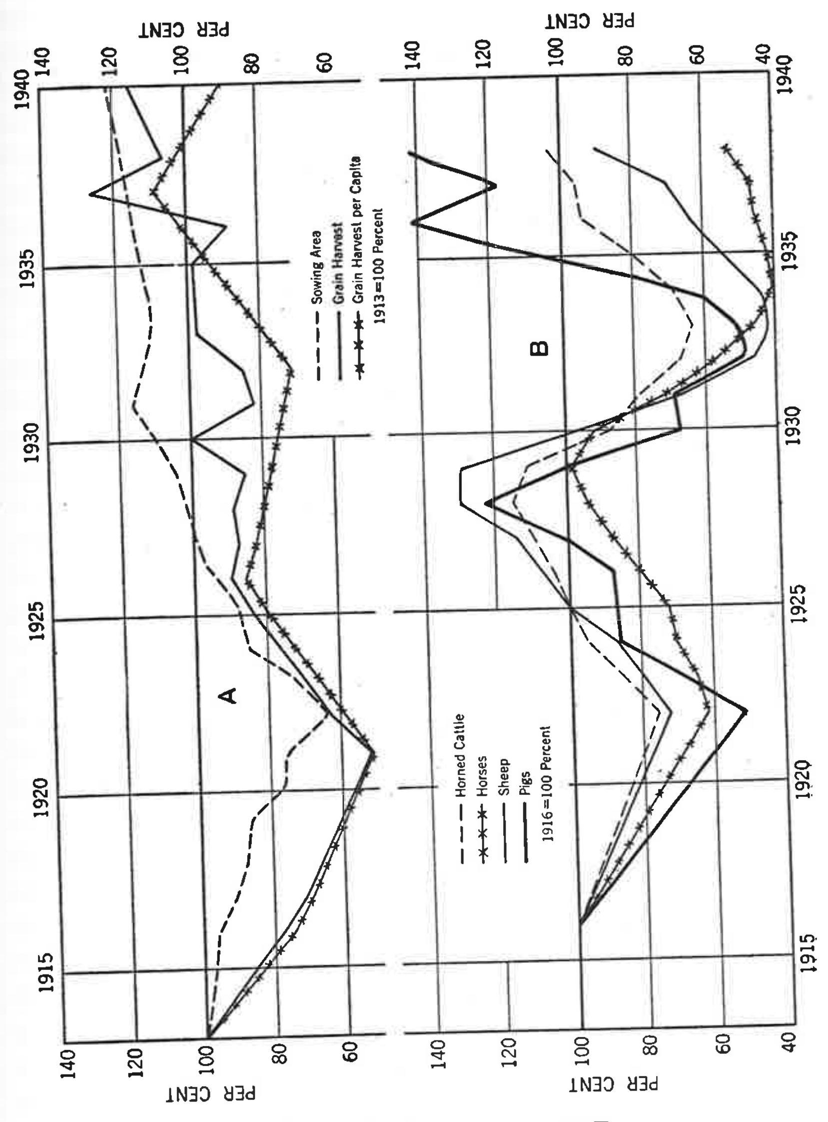
2

The first attempt to endow Russia with socialist economics was defeated by famine, peasants' upheavals, industrial catastrophe, and the return to primitive barter. Lenin ordered a retreat which lasted eight years and is known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). Retreat is not always a symptom of final defeat; it may be carried out the better to prepare an offensive. Such was the meaning of the NEP; in its course, forces for a new socialist offensive had to be accumulated. Hence, the basic structural pattern of the period, "the two sectors economics." This was an invention of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, one of the surprisingly few social inventions made by them.

The two sectors were the collective and the private ones. The collective sector consisted of "key positions" retained by the State; the rest was returned to private enterprise, to be organized on capitalist principles. The key positions were defined by Lenin as follows: (1) basic industry; (2) banking; (3) means of communication and transportation, and (4) foreign trade. In its turn, basic industry was defined as large-scale industry plus industry producing means of further production. The conspicuous failure of the "single factory" pattern demanded reorganization of State industry according to some new pattern which would guarantee efficiency. This new pattern was not invented by Lenin, but borrowed by him from the practice of Western society. Two systems of organization appeared best fitted for imitation in the regime which was rising from the ruins of the Communist Experiment of the years 1917–21. The first was "the municipal corporation," according to which public utilities, such as electrical power plants, street cars, and the like, though owned by cities, counties, or prov-



II. INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT, 1913–1940



III. AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT

inces, were separated from the political domain and managed as if they were private enterprises, the owner giving to the manager only very general directions and refraining from interference with business details. The second was the "trust" formed by the grouping of several independent undertakings under one management. The combination of these two forms gave rise to a peculiar system of organization. Henceforth, State industry no longer took the form of a single vast enterprise, and instead of "the single factory," a network of relatively independent units (trusts) made their appearance (approximately 500 in basic industry).

Starting from the idea that the restoration of capitalist forms would enable the ruined industry to revive, the decree of April 10, 1923, gave the trusts a structure that in many respects resembled that of joint stock companies in capitalist society. They had an administrative board, a managing director, managers of the individual enterprises, and an auditing committee, and the statutes regulating the rights and duties of these agencies were exact counterparts of the articles of association of a company. But the general assembly of shareholders was replaced by the State authority to which the trust was attached; more often than not this was the Supreme Council of National Economy. This authority had to draw up the general plan of work, supervise its execution, sanction specified operations, and appoint and dismiss the higher staff. In the framework of these directions, the managers were given the right to make decisions as freely as private owners or executives do: they could hire and fire workers, buy raw material and machinery, and sell the output. In other words, their acts ceased to be administrative acts and became free acts of economic agents, as they are in capitalist society. Naturally, their decisions were limited by the labor legislation and the general directions of the Supreme Council. In the beginning, these directions were rather vague; often they were reduced to the formula that the manager earn a profit for the State, as managers in capitalist society do for their masters. Furthermore, the basic economic incentive of capitalist society was restored in its operation: the managers

were given substantial shares in the profits (bonuses) and the workers resumed being paid according to skill and efficiency, often under the principle of piece work. To gain profits, the managers had to use the same technique as in capitalist society: the free market was restored, and even such "bourgeois" institutions as the stock exchange.

In pure form, the structure described above existed only during the first few years of the period. Gradually, two substantial changes were introduced. First, wholesale home trade was incorporated into the collective sector. Secondly, the State, as the owner of the trusts, increased its interference with business; above the trusts, "syndicates" and later on, even "central boards" dealing with the main branches of economic activity were created, which were entrusted with such functions as the fixation of prices, the elaboration of norms of production, the division of markets, etc.

In the private sector, two subsectors were distinguished, one formed by the residue of industry, home trade, and housing, and the other by the rural homesteads. In the urban subsector, change was drastic. The principle of denationalization was applied: work done during the period of War Communism was undone, and former owners and managers invited to take over their enterprises; if they could not be found (many had died, others had emigrated) or if they refused the honor, other persons were granted property or lease of the enterprise.[6] If nobody was willing to operate the economic unit, its operation was discontinued; in no case did the State continue operating it. The owners of the denationalized and leased enterprises were assumed to act on the basis of economic self-interest. Naturally their acts were to be guided by situations prevailing on the free market. Legal forms were essential for the smooth functioning of the system, and they were granted by the Civil Code of October 31, 1922, a somewhat hasty compilation of legal rules borrowed from the most progressive legislative acts of mature liberal society.[7] This Code recognized the "bourgeois" institution of inheritance. In the beginning, the size of the estate which could be inherited was limited, but in 1926 such

restrictions were dropped. Moreover, the monetary system was restored and put on the solid basis of the gold standard. The reform was drafted by outstanding Russian economists of the "bourgeois" school. For quite a few years, the price level was close to stability.

In the rural subsector change was not so drastic, since there, even under War Communism, "capitalistic relations" had been preserved. However, under the NEP these relations were stabilized and liberated from the inhibitions introduced because of the acceptance of the Populist Utopia. A series of special decrees, which were later included in the Agrarian Code enacted October 30, 1922, restored order in regard to the using of the land. The Code maintained the principle of nationalization; but, according to clause 11, the land was leased in perpetuity to the peasants or peasant groups who cultivated it.* The *mir* structure was once more reinforced with regard to almost all of the arable soil. But disorderly and too frequent land partitions were prohibited. Land tenure was regulated in the same way as it had been before the Revolution.[8]

The same Agrarian Code allowed the peasants (with certain exceptions) to hire workers and lease land. Corn levies were replaced by taxes in kind, later on by taxes in the regular monetary form. Private trade with corn and other agricultural products was re-established; peasants were enabled to sell their surpluses on the free market at prices determined by the law of supply and demand. Since industrial commodities were again available on the market, the principal incentive towards increasing rural production again existed.

The NEP was greeted by the population as "return to normalcy"—still more, as liberation from a nightmare. Very rapidly, the economic machinery resumed working and satisfying the needs of the people. Seven years after Lenin's recantation, the industrial output returned to the prewar level. This was a great achievement as compared with the destructive years of War Communism. However, one must not forget that in 1928 the level of 1913 was just regained, whereas in the years preceding war and revolution, industrial production rapidly advanced. Thus, fifteen years were lost for economic progress.

In the countryside, towards the end of the period, the cultivated area was nearly the same as before the Revolution, but the crops were smaller. But with regard to cattle, the year 1928 reached a maximum attained neither before nor since. However, this advance was not yet sufficient to restore the old economic level, for the population rapidly increased. This resulted in curtailing the average food supply. Very accurate investigations of the question have shown that from 0.49 metric ton per inhabitant before the Revolution, the crops had decreased to 0.45 towards the end of the NEP period.[9]

This was one of the unfavorable aspects of the situation, but from the viewpoint of the Soviet government there was another, which was considered much more important. The new agrarian structure resulted in a very rapid differentiation within the Russian village. The rise of the *kulak* group made the government dependent on its good will with regard to the food supply of towns and industrial districts. According to official data, out of the 10.5 million metric tons of grain sold on the free market during the later years of the NEP, 2.8 million, or 20 per cent, were of *kulak* production.[10] The *kulaks* were able to retain their corn if dissatisfied with prices; this actually happened in the fall of 1927 and again in the fall of 1928.

During the later years of the NEP, the government tried various means to induce peasants to sell their crops to governmental agents and, when their failure had become obvious, reintroduced compulsion; Clause 107 of the Criminal Code, prohibiting the artificial raising of prices, was applied against rich peasants who had refused to sell their corn. In accordance with this law, their crops were confiscated. The experience of War Communism was repeated: compulsion applied to individual producers resulted in decreasing the output. A total change had to take place in order to save the situation.

* Less than eight years later this promise was broken by the policy of wholesale collectivization.

3

The attitude of the *kulaks* was only one of the causes of the abandonment of the NEP. The main cause was obviously not economic, since economically the NEP had been a marked success; it was political and social, and will be studied at another place. However, the decision to abandon the NEP and to proceed to a Second Socialist Offensive was greatly facilitated by the gradual evaporation of the dark reminiscences of War Communism. When a war is over, people are ready to swear that never again will they fight; a generation passes, and they find themselves fighting another war. However, in order to overcome the terror inspired by a previous war, the new generation must be persuaded that meanwhile a new weapon has become available, or a new situation has emerged making victory easy and certain.

Similar processes take place in regard to costly social experiments. In 1928–9, the memory of War Communism was no longer as vivid as in 1922–3; and, additionally, a new idea had appeared on the horizon and could be used to overcome hesitation. This was the idea of planned economy. War Communism collapsed, they said, because the idea was not yet known; this time, Communism could gain victory without imposing sacrifice on the people.

In an abstract form, the idea of planned economy was present in the older socialist doctrine. But it was only in 1919 that two "bourgeois" economists gave the necessary precision to it. One was Walter Rathenau, a great German businessman and statesman; another was the Russian Professor Grinevetsky, who published an illuminating study on the reconstruction of Russia after the catastrophe of War, Revolution, and Civil War.[11] Both were hostile to Communism; Grinevetsky's book was even published under the protection of the White Army in Kiev. But Lenin was very interested and ordered Rathenau's book to be translated and Grinevetsky's to be reprinted in Moscow. Already in 1920, a State Planning Commission was created. In 1921, it was given the modest task of elaborating directions for the guidance of the managers of the trusts, informing them of the general economic situation and of probable developments. In 1925, the commission published the first one-year-plan; it was nothing but a set of recommendations. Meanwhile the idea of long range planning emerged; different terms were discussed, and the term of five years was finally chosen. Later on, the term "five-year-plan" received some mystical connotation; but in the beginning there was no special emphasis on the figure five. More important was another change: the plan idea was proclaimed to be the salvation, permitting an attempt at the second Communist Experiment without returning to the blunders and miseries of the first. By that time the plan was no longer a recommendation, but a binding order of a very complex nature, similar to the budget.

Thus, the plan idea became the instrumentality for the resumption of the attempts to realize the Communist blueprint. The rulers succeeded in making this idea an article of faith and in persuading many people that the fulfillment of the plan would signify the emergence of paradise on earth. In this way a kind of socialist enthusiasm was temporarily created among technicians and part of the younger workers. The plan as such did not involve any particular sacrifice and was the more gladly accepted. But later on, after its sublimation to the level of a dogma, sacrifices on its altar could be demanded.

The First Five-Year-Plan was elaborated by the State Planning Committee with the co-operation of the best economists of Russia. It represents a sincere effort to trace the line of development conducive to rapid industrialization without sacrificing any aspect of economic or cultural activity. Two sets of figures were elaborated; the normal and the optimal plan, the latter to be realized only in exceptionally favorable conditions. The highest Party authorities ratified only the optimal plan. Officially, the plan had to be executed from October 1, 1928, to September 30, 1933. But it was ratified by the supreme Party agencies only in April, 1929, and consequently could not start being executed before the fall of 1929. During its execution, the ridiculous idea of a "five-year-plan in four years" arose;

when the idea appeared to be unreal, an additional trimester was added, and the plan was declared terminated on December 31, 1932. But the policy involved in this plan continued well into the Second Five-Year-Plan period; a radical change took place in the midst of the latter.

The plan foresaw the transformation of Russia from an agricultural into a mixed society, one that was both agricultural and industrial. To achieve this, the output of industry had to be increased by 150%, that of agriculture only by 50%.[12] Such increase necessitated great investment of capital. A financial plan was elaborated by Party authorities. At its basis was the Marxist theorem that, other things being equal, large-scale production is more efficient and therefore cheaper than small-scale production. It was decided to invest in industry all the profits gained by the existing industrial system; these investments were to be used to create industrial giants, larger than the biggest plants in this country. The giants had to be constructed in a very short time and very cheaply. As soon as they started production they would yield big profits, since production costs would be low, and the prices would be maintained on the initial level. These profits would once more be invested. In this way, a self-perpetuating and accelerating process would start running and permit the increase of production with vertiginous speed.

Optimistic computations yielded the heartening result that a yearly increase of production by 30% was in the range of possibility. If Marxist theorems and optimistic computations were correct, a material paradise would have emerged in Russia about 1932. The vision of a future paradise was made the incentive for work in socialist society, instead of the economic self-interest of capitalist society.

Instead of paradise, Russia got hell. Why?

4

Before attempting to answer this question let us establish that, to carry out the new offensive, the industrial organization

of the country was submitted to partial change. Semi-independent trusts, unified by syndicates, continued to exist; they were given no concrete orders, as was the case under War Communism, but the abstract order to achieve the Plan.[13] But from the start private industry and trade, restored under the NEP, were once more nationalized. This time no decrees were issued, and the nationalization was carried out by concrete orders, often under the pretext of the nonpayment of taxes, or of alleged counterrevolutionary activity of the owner, etc. Naturally, no compensation was paid, and the nationalized units were either incorporated into the existing trusts or combined into new trusts.

However, the existing enterprises were not in the foreground. According to the Plan, a large number of new plants and mills of large size started being constructed, often with the aid of foreign specialists. But their construction proved to be much more costly and lengthy than foreseen by the Plan. On the basis of reports published by some of the experts, the causes of the departure from expectation were these: first, the experts never were permitted to act freely; ignorant heads of departments and the like introduced changes in their plans, calculations, and orders. Secondly, definite plans almost never existed; plans were changed many times after the execution had started; in some cases half-finished buildings were torn down and rebuilt according to new plans. Thirdly, there was a great shortage of skilled labor and well-trained engineers. Fourthly, the quality of material was so poor that much larger quantities were required than expected.



The difficulties were aggravated because the government, meeting the "impersonal resistance" of the whole economic system, responded by accelerating the program of industrialization. Every year, sometimes every three months, new orders were addressed to the leaders of industry, breaking the harmony of the Plan. All efforts were concentrated on heavy industry. But light industry, on which the satisfaction of human needs depends directly, as well as the railways lagged behind. New railways foreseen by the Plan were not built and the exist-

ing lines were permitted to deteriorate so badly that extraordinary measures became necessary. The most resolute and reckless among the secondary leaders were successively appointed commissars of the railways, but could not achieve anything of importance. About the end of the period, Stalin acknowledged that the state of the railways was one of the darkest points in the picture.

Redundant statements were time and again made asserting that victory was certain, later on that it was gained. Outside of Russia, a large literature emerged around the question as to whether the Plan was a success or a failure. In this general form, the discussion is fruitless. Here are the facts.

Since the production of new plants entered the scene much later than anticipated and at much higher cost, the financial plan did not materialize. The rulers had to choose: either to abandon the whole enterprise, or to find other ways of financing it. Naturally, they chose the second alternative. The real sources of investment were: (1) expropriation, almost without compensation, of the riches accumulated in the countryside; (2) decrease of real wages to starvation level, and (3) depreciation of currency, so painstakingly avoided under the NEP. It must be emphasized that none of these measures was foreseen by the Plan. The second means, the reduction of wages, was imposed on the government by unfavorable developments in agriculture, as the result of the first measure. The food supply dropped sharply, and the reaction of the government was the same as under War Communism: ration cards for everybody, with differentiation according to class membership and, in actuality, still less food than the meager rations permitted one to expect.

In addition to the failure of the financial plan and the necessity of using the unpleasant substitutes, there were other reasons for disappointment. The Plan foresaw increasing efficiency of labor. In actuality, its efficiency decreased, owing to the undernourishment of workers, the equalization of wages, and the necessity to introduce into the labor class millions of peasants without any technical training. All these reasons of

deterioration appeared on the scene because of the Utopian character of the Plan as remolded by the Party and the foolish idea of its acceleration.

To combat decreasing efficiency, the government tried a few devices which then seemed very ingenious. These were "socialist emulation" and "uninterrupted work." Socialist emulation was based on the premise that enthusiasm was the dominant attitude of labor. The names of the most efficient persons and groups were placed on the "red board" and those of the least efficient on the "black board." Uninterrupted work meant that machines were operated day and night, by three or more shifts of workers; every individual worker had to work five days and have a rest on the sixth, but these days did not coincide, and factory work never stopped. The two devices proved to be failures. Socialist emulation did not work because socialist enthusiasm very soon faded,[14] and uninterrupted work resulted in dangerous deterioration of machinery and in the undermining of the vital force of the labor class.

The hopeless decrease of efficiency was accompanied by another unfavorable departure from expectation. The obsession with the Plan idea made underproduction a crime without excuse. Therefore, plant managers, when unable really to carry out the Plan, still tried to produce the required quantity, but of poorer quality. The press of the period is full of reports about rails which had to be replaced after six months of use, of galoshes which lasted only three days, etc. This meant waste of raw material and human energy.

The greatest disappointment of the leaders was probably the unspeakable chaos which emerged throughout the economic system, a worthy counterpart of "the capitalist anarchy of production" vilified by the Marxists. Nevertheless, no industrial catastrophe in the style of 1920 appeared. About the end of the period studied, Russia was actually endowed with heavy industry, approximately according to plan. In this regard, the claims of the Communist rulers of having fulfilled the Plan were justified. But light industry produced no more than in 1928, and what it produced was incredibly poor. The means

of transportation was close to breakdown. This, however, was nothing in comparison with the catastrophe in agriculture.

This catastrophe was caused by the Second Agrarian Revolution aiming at the collectivization of the countryside. This revolution was a centrally initiated action in contrast to the first one, which had been initiated on the periphery of the nation. The First Agrarian Revolution had been a concession of the Soviet government to the peasants, a compromise with the Populist program. The Second Agrarian Revolution was an attempt to give Russia an agrarian structure entirely in keeping with the Communist doctrine.

Collectivization means a complete realization of the Communist doctrine with regard to rural structure; not only land-use, but also agricultural production becomes collective. During the years 1929–33, great efforts were made to realize this structural idea as completely as possible. Later on the efforts weakened, and a new compromise structure got the upper hand. But let us begin by explaining how the idea of complete collectivization was born, for it did not exist in the Communist mentality of earlier years.

Already during the period of War Communism some landlord estates were not submitted to partitioning among peasants but remained State farms; they were to become models of agricultural progress. Very seldom were such attempts successful, and in general the agricultural technique of State farms was very poor.

Among the exceptions was the State farm "Shevchenko" in the Ukraine.[15] Here two favorable conditions were combined: (1) an exceptionally able manager, Markevich, headed the farm; (2) the farm was endowed with much more machinery than could be used on its fields. This was an accidental result of a very inadequate distribution of instruments of production, for the majority of State farms were badly handicapped by lack of machinery of any kind. The surrounding villages were suffering from land shortage and backward techniques (the three-field system, the custom of common pasturage, poor machinery). Markevich proposed to the peasants that they combine all their possessions in one large organization. A six-year rotation of crops would be introduced and all the fields cultivated with the improved machinery of the State farm; the peasants would help, with their horses, on days indicated by Markevich. On five out of the six fields all jobs would be accomplished in this way; the sixth, to be used for potatoes and beets, would be separated into allotments corresponding to homesteads and, after the "collective" plowing, peasants would cultivate their portions individually. As remuneration for the use of the machinery, the State farm would receive a certain percentage (25% to 30%) of the grain; the rest, as well as the straw and the crop of the sixth field, would remain the property of the peasants.

After some hesitation, the peasants of twenty-six villages agreed. The plan was put into effect in 1928 over an area of 24,000 hectares and was a great success. Markevich's farm gained high profits, and the economic conditions of the villages which became copartners improved remarkably. Markevich described his experiment in a book entitled *Inter-Village Tractor Stations*, in which he warned against imitating him in the absence of the necessary conditions.

The idea of collectivization was included in the first Five-Year-Plan. According to the plan, collectivization was to advance slowly, in close correspondence with changes in peasant mentality, i.e., with the degree of their free acceptance of the idea and with the amount of available machinery. Therefore, the plan provided that by its close, January 1, 1933, only fifteen per cent of all peasant homesteads were to have lost their independence. But the government was in a hurry. The moderate plan of collectivization was transformed into a plan of wholesale collectivization when the failure of the financial aspect of the general plan became obvious. The village was the only place where some riches were accumulated and could be grabbed in order to replace the mythical profits from State industry. In order to carry out this modified plan, collectivization was combined with "the wholesale liquidation of the *kulak* class."

On December 27, 1929, Stalin declared that the Communist government had decided to put an end to the very existence of the *kulak* class. On January 6 and February 1, 1930, corresponding decrees were enacted. According to them, the *kulaks* were to be expropriated without compensation and their belongings transferred to the groups of the poorest peasants provided that they joined the *kolhozes* (collective farms). In this way, the solidarity of rural communities was destroyed and a conflict situation created. By that time, one of the most terrible periods of the Russian Revolution began. For no other reason than that they had cleverly profited by the opportunities of the NEP period, the *kulaks* were expelled from their homesteads, with their families, with nothing but the clothes they had on at the moment of the expropriation. If they showed the smallest tendency to resist, they were deported to labor camps in the far north, where the majority of them perished from cold and starvation. Their fields, cattle, and machinery, as well as their homes, became the property of the *kolhozes*. The middle-class and poorer peasants were more favorably treated. But they had to abdicate their economic freedom and become members of the *kolhozes*.[16] Many among them were reluctant; but commissars were sent to the countryside to explain that collectivization was Stalin's desire and that those who did not agree would be considered counterrevolutionists and deported to Northern Siberia. In the majority of cases, after such explanations, the peasants "unanimously approved" the plan. On March 1, 1930, 55% of the homesteads (14.3 million) were already collectivized.* The intensity of the process was also very great; by March 1, 1930, 78% of the cattle of collectivized homesteads had already been made collective property.

The attitude of the peasants became more and more threatening. Practically no preparations were made to sow the fields. Slaughtering cattle in order to prevent collectivization became a kind of epidemic. Stalin realized the danger. On March 2, 1930, he published an article in which he accused the local authorities of having misunderstood his instructions and of

* For more details, see Table 3 in Appendix II.

having created many *kolhozes* on paper only. The fictitious "compulsory" *kolhozes* were to be disbanded. Peasants who were unwilling to become *kolhoz*-members and could not be persuaded were to be left alone. Very soon Stalin's article was followed by corresponding decrees (of which that of March 15, 1930, was the principal one). The wave of collectivization relaxed: on May 15, only 24% of the homesteads remained collectivized; this proves that the first attempt had been a compulsory one.

This was only a temporary retreat. By different means, among which an excessive taxation of individual (noncollective) homesteads played a large part, the government succeeded in bringing forward the whole enterprise. Towards the middle of the year 1931, the Russian peasantry was separated into two nearly equal classes: that of *kolhoz*-members and that of "individual" (in actuality *mir*) peasants. Later on the process gradually advanced towards the entire elimination of the second class, which had been a remnant of the old, prerevolutionary agrarian structure.

The new structure given to the Russian village through collectivization is complicated. *Kolhozes* have not become technically and economically self-sufficient units. Tractors and heavy machinery have been concentrated in governmental "machine and tractor stations." The co-operation of such stations is almost unavoidable for the majority of *kolhozes*, as had been the case in Markevich's experiment; but the stations enjoy the position of monopolists and use it to exert pressure on the *kolhozes* just as monopolists do in capitalist society.

The rest of the capital, namely land, cattle, and tools of minor importance belong to the individual *kolhozes*, but not to the individual farmers. The management decides how many workers, male and female, every homestead should place at its disposal every day and what the corresponding persons should do. The management, if the *kolhoz* statute is taken at face value, is democratic: the chairman and the other officers are elected by the general assembly of the members; however, the general pattern of elections previously studied (Chapter

V) is applied, and actually those persons become officers who have been thus designated by political leadership. It is symptomatic that, in 1929–30, twenty-five thousand Communists were delegated from cities to rural districts to direct an activity about which they had not the least elementary notion. Labor became half-compulsory; the system of remuneration was entirely inadequate. The profits were distributed in equal parts among the members (the old *mir* idea); this resulted in a total lack of any interest in good work. Since light industry was in a state of stagnation or even of regress, the peasants were again unable to buy anything when selling their surpluses; the most important incentive for large agricultural production was gone.

Decreased agricultural production and the cessation of rural-urban exchange resulted in a new rural-urban tension, which repeated that of War Communism. Peasants had to submit to large levies in kind (corn, potatoes, butter, linen, cotton, etc.). The reaction of the peasants to the loss of economic independence and the unbearable levies was that of despair. Many of them preferred killing their cattle and eating more meat than ever before to surrendering cattle to the *kolhozes,* where they died in large numbers. Figures show the amazing magnitude of the destruction produced partly by voluntary acts of the peasants, and partly by the crass ignorance and carelessness of the managers.* Additionally, many peasants destroyed their machinery and sold it as scrap iron. Very soon they stopped really working in the *kolhoz* fields. Reporters of Moscow papers visiting the countryside were unable to see anybody working in the fields before nine A.M., and among workers they saw more children and old people than persons of working age, since the latter preferred tilling their little orchards or doing some minor industrial work to increasing their miserable incomes.

In Markevich's case, collectivization was a splendid success. Applied on a large scale, without regard to the availability of improved machinery or the attitude of the peasants, collectivization was a signal failure. Crops decreased, cattle was

* Compare the figures for 1928 and 1932 on Table 2 in Appendix II.

decimated. Famine once more took a heavy toll from Russia's population. But through the liquidation of the *kulaks* some riches could be immediately grabbed and distributed among the workers, to promote industrialization. Later on, the new agrarian structure permitted the rulers to collect large quantities of food in a much simpler manner than had been the case under War Communism. Once more, this food was used to promote industrialization. Industrialization advanced, but Russian agriculture was ruined. This fact should never be forgotten when discussing the success or failure of the Five-Year-Plans.

There were two ways to help agriculture out of the terrible deadlock caused by too hasty collectivization—reinforcing the pressure or making concessions. During the years 1932-33, the government hesitated. Concessions, but insufficient ones, were made, and simultaneously the pressure was reinforced.

The policy of concessions was started on March 26, 1932, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party declared that the practice of collectivizing all the cows, sheep, pigs, and poultry had nothing in common with the policy of the Party and ought to be stopped immediately. The declaration was a lie: up to March 26, wholesale collectivization was the policy of the Party; on that day it ceased to be. The decree, according to the Soviet press, provoked general enthusiasm; in many places, the peasants started claiming all collectivized cattle, including that which had been confiscated from "liquidated" *kulaks* or bred in collective farms. About the same time, the collectivized peasants were permitted to sell their "surpluses" on the market. But they had to accept the official price, which was so low that nobody seized the new opportunity. Then on May 6, permission to sell surpluses without price limitation was granted, but only as of January 15, 1933. A fortnight later, the date of January 15 was dropped and permission was made effective immediately. This sequence of events is typical of a situation where one is hard-pressed by circumstances and tries to meet pressure by gradually increasing concessions.

The peasants saw in these concessions not so much a series of benevolent actions of the Supreme Leader, as the proof of

their strength. They started struggling for rights which the leaders did not want to grant them, namely, for a larger part of the harvest and for actual freedom of trade. This, in a dictatorship, was intolerable. Stalin retaliated quickly and resolutely: On August 7, 1932, the death penalty was introduced for stealing *kolhoz*-goods, and many peasants were shot for having harvested grain on collective fields for their own use. In January, 1933, "rural political sections" were created; they were closely related to the GPU and were invested with much power in order to help actualize completely the new rural structure, in spite of the passive resistance of the peasants. Never before had the formidable machinery of the secret police come so close to the peasants. The program of the Communist Experiment was to be enforced by the most drastic measures. Does this not prove once more that the Russian people did not want it?

5

Neither chaotic conditions in industry nor famine could have compelled the Communist leaders to abandon their Plan, the realization of which seemed just around the corner. A counter-revolution on the part of the *kulaks* no longer threatened. And still they were forced to retreat.

Granted that early in 1934 the Communist rulers of Russia foresaw war with a formidable enemy and simultaneously realized the dissatisfaction of the population with the existing social and economic order and the inefficacy of the economic system they had created, what policy had they to choose? Once more, as in 1921, they had to reverse the trend, and instead of continuing to advance towards pure Communism in economics, they had to proceed to a retreat and give up a part of the strong points already gained. However, neither the return to capitalism nor the inauguration of another NEP was possible: after the brutal liquidation of the NEP in the late 'twenties, nobody would take any promises at face value that another NEP would be durable and serious; moreover, a large part of the NEP personnel perished together with their short-lived enterprises and could hardly be replaced.

In consequence, the retreat had to be conducted towards new positions. Appeal to self-interest was indicated, as well as the relaxation of the strict control of consumption, if economic efficacy was to be restored and the dissatisfication of the population dissipated. But the State—more exactly—the Party control of the means of production was not to be abandoned. How far the retreat had to go and what the individual measures had to be could be determined only by trial and error. The following measures were tested and integrated into a new system which could be designated as Mitigated Communist Economy.

1. Under The Great Retreat, the goal continued to be speedy industrialization of the State, with emphasis on heavy industry. In anticipation of war, this was only natural. Still, an important change took place. The initial scheme of the Five-Year-Plans, the continuous increase of production in geometrical ratio, was mitigated. In the course of The Great Retreat the yearly percentages of increase had gradually diminished. This slowing down had been especially conspicuous after 1937.[17] Despite the slowing down of the tempo, the increase of industrial production, expressed in absolute figures, had been very high: smaller percentages, when applied to high absolute figures, still yielded high results. Beginning with 1937, observers have reported a slow but steady improvement of the standard of life in urban areas.

The new directions given to industry permitted the withering away of the "plan obsession" of the previous period. The plant managers could take more care of the quality of their products, which the consumers were now free to reject, as will be shown later. Moreover, they had won a much higher degree of independence than they ever had since the abolition of the NEP. In their work, they were no longer checked by the Trade Unions, which in 1935 lost the right of collective bargaining. They were able substantially to decrease the number of auxiliary workers, though in many cases it was still five times larger than in similar American plants.[18]

In the course of World War II, rationalization of the labor processes and the conveyor method of production have been imposed on industry, with the particular end in view of producing more, though employing a smaller number of men.[19]

2. The system of State monopoly and centralized planning was not abandoned, but important exceptions were permitted to materialize. Without any general announcement, artisans reappeared on the scene. The majority were organized into "co-operatives" managed by the Party; these were given certain privileges as to taxation and access to raw material. Some of them were granted "concessions" on small enterprises such as brick kilns, saw mills, smithies, and potteries. Permissions were granted them to open little shops producing felt shoes, homespun clothing, carts, and furniture.[20] A minority of artisans remained "individual," a counterpart to the individual homesteads untouched by collectivization. These were very definite departures from the Communist blueprint, and very definitely departures which could not but please large sections of the population.

Of equal importance was the decentralization of local industry through the decree of January 9, 1941. This decree reversed a policy which the government chose in the very beginning of The Great Retreat. Namely, on August 10, 1934, a decree was issued creating "commissariats for local industry." In this way the management of small enterprises was transferred from local Soviets to Republican centers. But in 1941, these enterprises were exempted from central planning and placed under the authority of local Soviets which could plan their production, acquire raw materials, and sell the finished goods on the market.

According to a well-established practice, the reform of 1941 was preceded by a number of "revelations" concerning the plight of the population, and by semiofficial suggestions as to possible measures for its alleviation. Already in the summer of 1939, *Pravda* wrote:

> The population suffers because of the lack of shoes, hats, and furniture. Without a reorganization of local industry, Soviet trade cannot be put in order.

Early in 1940, the Trade Commissar of the RSFSR urged some decentralization of industry; this would, in his opinion, encourage local industry to cover at least one-third of the local food consumption, such as smoked fish, processed cheese, canned berries, and mushrooms. About the same time, *Pravda* gave the following information:

> In the township of Bronnitsy, there used to exist fifteen blacksmiths' and wheelers' shops. At present there is not one shop of this kind left in the township, though the district provides every opportunity for large-scale production of carts, sleighs, and harnesses. There is only one way to remedy the situation—to grant the local authorities the right to organize small trade and industry.[21]

The government continued insisting on the revival of local industry even during the war.[22] In 1943, one could read: "It would be highly detrimental to centralize the supply of all kinds of goods to the population completely. The local Soviets must organize production from local resources." Early in 1944, the vice-commissar of local industry scolded his subordinates for neglecting the production of carts, sleighs, cords, and similar commodities. One of the difficulties involved was revealed in the reply of a local official: ceiling prices for these commodities were so low that it was not worth while producing them. This fact gives insight into the arduous problem of mutual adjustment between centralized and local planning, which probably will be of great importance in the reconstruction process after the war.

However, from statements reported above it may be concluded that the reform of January 9, 1941, was a response to the unanimous desire of the population to see small industry in the hands of local men. In The Great Retreat, the two reforms just studied, therefore, form a substantial item.

3. Still more important was the solution of the problem of labor efficiency through an ingenious device which had been recorded in the annals as the Stakhanov movement. The spirit

of The Great Retreat has been embodied in it more clearly than in anything else.

In the spring of 1934, a new wage system was enacted by the government, known as the progressive piece work. Relating to every type of work, both piece remuneration and daily norms of production were fixed, but the piece remuneration was made flexible and significantly increased if a worker's output exceeded the norm.

This was an invitation to work better and earn more. But this invitation was not directly accepted by labor. Under the Second Socialist Offensive they were taught that a higher income, and in consequence a higher standard of life was, for the individual, a departure from Communist purity; anyone who tried it was commonly viewed as a petty bourgeois individualist, almost a counterrevolutionist. This mentality survived the Second Socialist Offensive and became an unexpected obstacle to the realization of the aims of The Great Retreat.

Then in August, 1935, a dramatized demonstration of the seriousness of the government's invitation took place. An obscure Donets miner, a non-Party man—that he was a non-Party man was often emphasized in later discussions—after consultation with his foreman, a Communist of good reputation, decided to show the world that in Communist society a worker could outproduce any worker in Capitalist society. It was claimed that he had produced many times more coal than expected according to the norm. In the course of the next month he repeated his deed time and again, and in consequence his payroll was about twelve times higher than it used to be. The deed was reported to the Moscow papers and received great approbation from the highest authorities. Very soon, an imitation movement began. The first follower was a certain Bussygin, a worker in the Gorki automobile plant; there followed a girl from a textile mill, then scores of others in various branches of industry, transportation, and agriculture; "combiners" boasted of having harvested three or four times more hectares than expected, engineers of having pushed their trains at double speed, dairy girls of having milked many more cows than foreseen in regulations, other *kolhoz* girls of having collected incredible quantities of beets or potatoes. In all cases, magnificent remuneration was awarded to those concerned, and their splendid performances were praised in local and central papers.

About the end of the year, three thousand prominent Stakhanovites were invited to come to Moscow. At a big meeting in the Kremlin, Stalin addressed them and then asked them a few questions: how did they perform their deeds and what had they done with their earnings? As to the latter question, it appeared that the men had acquired phonographs and records, sometimes cows for the homesteads of their relatives, or little houses in the countryside or suburbs. The girls spoke of nice dresses and silk stockings. Stalin fully endorsed them and declared that in Soviet society, the workers should be given the opportunity to enjoy life as they never could do in bourgeois society. One hundred and twenty among those gathered around Stalin were granted the order of Lenin, or that of the Red Banner. Later on, quite a few Stakhanovites were given privileges as to rooms in rest houses; some of them were given private lessons in science and foreign languages; still others were promoted to "commanding positions" in the administration. On the other hand, they could only occasionally repeat their performances, the rest of the time being spent for propaganda activity.

In this way the suspicions of the workers regarding the sincerity of the governmental invitation to work better and earn more were dissipated. The movement progressed with increasing speed. Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of workers declared their intention to join. The majority had to be refused since, as will be shown, it did not enter into the plans of the government to transform all workers into Stakhanovites; on the contrary, this would have been a sheer impossibility.

Why? The study of the speeches of the individual workers at the Moscow meetings and of numerous reports published in Soviet papers show that the miracle of the Stakhanovites consisted of two items: first, they rediscovered some elementary

principles of the rational organization of labor, such as the division of functions. Many of them boasted that they no longer changed their tools every minute, but concentrated on some special operation. Secondly, their superiors organized a kind of friendly conspiracy around them. Typical is the following story concerning Bussygin:

> That night all the thousands of workers knew that Bussygin would be working. All these thousands were united in the desire that their factory gain an honorable place in the great movement. Everything changed. Usually tools were lacking; this time, all were in place. Usually no parts for repairs were available; this time, they were abundant. The director and the chief engineer of the shop did not sleep that night: they were present and did all they could to secure success.

From such descriptions it appears that the deeds of the Stakhanovites were rather a kind of theatrical performance, and that in actuality scores of men took part in the production officially ascribed to the selected heroes.

But what was the gain of the government, i.e., of the monopolistic owner of all industrial plants? It was disclosed when, a few months later, decrees began to be issued increasing the norm without lifting the remuneration per piece. To some of them, preambles were attached praising the heroic deeds of the Stakhanovites which had shown the possibility of efficiently exploiting the riches embodied in the national factories and farms. The workers were given a choice: either to maintain the "speed" to which they were accustomed under the Second Socialist Offensive, and which was ridiculously lower than that of their brothers working in conditions of "capitalist exploitation," and then to receive substantially less than they did; or to accelerate their production and maintain their earnings, or accelerate their work further and increase their earnings. Naturally they chose the latter. In this way the hard problem of improving efficiency was solved, after all attempts to do it on the basis of "socialist emulation" and the like had failed. It must be emphasized that the solution was definitely contrary to the spirit

of the Doctrine and to its earlier interpretation. The new system was therefore a substantial part of The Great Retreat.

The system has not been applied to workers only. The employees, especially the engineers, were given full part in the virtual benefits thus created. Depending on the increased production of the workers under their orders, they saw their earnings doubled or trebled, sometimes more than that, and this gave them an increased status in the changing society.

With the approach of war, many additional measures were taken to improve the efficiency of industrial work. On June 26, 1940, the six-day week introduced in 1929 was abandoned and the usual seven-day week restored; this meant nine more days' work a year. Moreover, the labor day was lifted from seven to eight hours, without any increase in earnings. The decree of December 29, 1938, provided punishment for truancy and tardiness and dismissal for absentees. This had to be changed, since in a country without unemployment dismissed workers immediately found other jobs; from June 26, 1940, on, they were punished by a 25% deduction from their wages. The decree of October 19, 1940, permitted the government to transfer engineers and workers compulsorily from one enterprise to another. Since war was already raging in the West and threatened to spread to Russia, all these measures were willingly accepted by a population permeated by patriotic sentiment.

4. The Stakhanov movement opened a way to the workers to acquire higher purchasing power. This would not have affected their attitudes and conduct if the system of standardized consumption typical of the former period had been maintained. It was therefore mandatory to create conditions in which the prospect of higher earnings would fully exert its stimulating force. A few months before the Stakhanov movement was launched, a sweeping reform took place in the system of distribution. On December 1, 1934, bread ration cards were abolished. In 1935, the same took place relating to other kinds of food and clothing. Now everybody was able to buy every commodity available, either in State or co-operative shops or on the market, paying a certain sum of money, independent of

his class position and occupation. Actually, this was a complete retreat, since the system introduced was identical with that used in capitalist society, except for the fact that the shops were mainly State agencies. Prices in these shops were now substantially higher than those paid before the reform when redeeming ration cards, but substantially lower than those which had prevailed on the free market. Some groups gained, others lost by this move, and there is reason to assume that the gainers were persons with higher incomes and the losers those with lower incomes; in any case, some readjustment of the wages of the latter took place to compensate them partly for that. But in general everbody was pleased, because after the reform one of the basic freedoms was returned to the population—the liberty of consumption, or the ability to choose freely the way of spending one's income. When the Stakhanov movement began, the new purchasing mentality, which was nothing but the "capitalist" one, had already been inculcated into the minds of the Soviet citizens. In consequence, when joining the Stakhanov movement and making more money, a worker or employee knew that he could spend his additional income as he pleased.

5. The restoration of the freedom of consumption was a conspicuous item in The Great Retreat. This freedom could certainly not have been granted if, simultaneously, the great *kolhoz* reform had not taken place.

Collectivization was not abandoned; on the contrary, it was insisted upon. In 1938, 94% of the homesteads were collectivized, instead of 73% in 1934. But the very meaning of collectivization changed. It was no longer paramount to the complete destruction of the economic independence of the homesteads. In the framework of mitigated Communism, a peasant was both a member of a collective (indirectly, State) enterprise, and an independent producer.

To prepare the reform, a convention of "prominent collective farmers" was convoked in Moscow (March, 1935). Stalin appeared at this convention and made a speech of which the following passages are essential:

If the collective farm cannot supply all the needs of the members and their families, then it is better to acknowledge frankly that a certain kind of work must be public and another kind individual. It is better to acknowledge that along with the large-scale form of collective agriculture there must be a system of small and individual farming to satisfy the individual needs of the *kolhoz* members. To harmonize the individual interests of the *kolhoz* members with the collective interest of the *kolhoz*—there lies the secret of how to strengthen the collective farm.[23]

In accordance with these statements, the new *kolhoz*-statute [24] allowed the peasants to possess small individual allotments within the collective farms (0.25 to 2 hectares, varying in different parts of the country). In addition to this, *kolhoz*-members were allowed to possess cows, sheep, and pigs (no horses) individually; the number of "individual cattle" was limited, but the *kolhoz*-management was ordered to help members in buying and feeding individual cows, and in other similar ways. This was not entirely new. Already in March, 1932, every *kolhoz*-member was allowed to possess a cow, and it has never been officially stated that he was not allowed to possess a garden or an orchard "individually"; but until 1934, the tendency was towards restricting individual economic activity within the *kolhozes*. The new tendency, on the contrary, was that of stimulating such activity.

The peasants were eager to seize the opportunity. They started tilling their allotments with the greatest care. Usually they could not use improved machinery, but with shovels and other hand tools they performed miracles. They used all the manure at their disposal on their allotments.[25] One year after the reform, the individual allotments covered four million hectares, more than the area cultivated by the still existing "individual" homesteads. Still more important was the restoration of individual cattle breeding. From 1934 to 1939, cattle of all kinds but horses rapidly increased in Russia, and the bulk of this increase was due to individual cattle breeding within the *kolhozes*.[26] It is noteworthy that no parallel increase took place as to horses; they remained taboo to the peasants since, in the

government's opinion, a collectivized peasant could become too independent when he owned a horse.

Not only did the peasants seize the opportunity offered them by the new statute; as in many other cases, they went far beyond the legal limit. In 1939, the government checked the application of the statute and established that the individual allotments occupied an area much larger than foreseen by the law.[27] Moreover, the peasants did not display much interest in collective work and preferred to concentrate their efforts on their individual allotments and cattle. How little they did care for collective work is apparent from the decree of May 27, 1939, which imposed on members of collective farms the minimum obligation to work eighty days a year for the collective farm.[28] It is easy to draw the conclusion from this decree that prior to it the peasants worked less than eighty days a year for the *kolhoz*. The same decree ordered the local authorities to reduce the size of the individual allotments to the legal limit; this was to be carried out by November 15.

The decree of May 27 was a departure from the main trend of the retreat, an attempt to stop a movement driving the whole system too far away from the goal fixed in the blueprint. Events did not permit this backward movement to materialize fully; after the outbreak of war in the West, it was decided not to continue the reduction of individual allotments.[29] As to the imposition of compulsory labor on the *kolhoz* members, the latter found a simple means to evade it. In the summer of 1939, people visiting collective farms were startled by seeing line-ups before cashiers' windows; there, farmers bought "workdays" from the chairman.[30] The price is reported to have been three to five rubles a day; this signifies that they expected to earn substantially more working on their allotments.

What, however, are the workdays? They appeared on the scene as another aspect of the great *kolhoz* reform through which the remuneration of *kolhoz*-members has been entirely reformed and is now more or less adapted to the efforts displayed by every family in collective farming.[31] Every kind of labor is now evaluated in conventional units (called work-

days); for instance, plowing one hectare of arable soil with a two-horse plow is equal to one unit; plowing one hectare of sandy soil with a one-horse plow, three-fourths of one unit; feeding cattle, one-half unit; working with a tractor and attaining the "norm," two units; conducting a column of tractors, three units, etc. There are complicated rules allowing the *kolhoz*-management to increase or decrease the statutory number of workdays depending upon the quality of the labor. Every week the number of units gained by a homestead is noted in special books. When the yearly account of a *kolhoz* has been approved, the net income is divided among the homesteads (in kind or in money) in ratio to the number of units they have gained during the agricultural year.* Moreover, one must keep in mind that the Stakhanov movement was not limited to industry, but appeared in agriculture as well, permitting ambitious members of the *kolhozes* to improve their earnings significantly.

The new *kolhoz* statute (1935) comprised another important reform.[32] Taken at face value, it provided for the shifting of the collective farms from the bureaucratic to the democratic type of organization. A general assembly of the adult members of a *kolhoz* had to elect and recall the officers, especially the chairman and members of the board of directors, and to ratify their plans and general directions. This democratic reform remained, however, on paper. Years after its proclamation the Soviet press was full of reports of brutal dismissals of *kolhoz* chairmen by local Party and Soviet agencies, resulting in a state of continuous flux of these essential economic agents. The same sources bring to our knowledge the fact that the general assemblies are not permitted to discuss the economic problems of the *kolhozes* and have to listen to political reports of the leaders.[33] It could not have been otherwise. The dictatorial and authoritarian structure of the State was maintained, and within that structure there was no room for local self-government.

* The distribution takes place after heavy deductions. On the average, out of a crop of 100 tons, 35 must be ceded to the machine and tractor station, and 23 sold to the State for a nominal price.

This is a situation which, in the course of The Great Retreat, has often recurred. To satisfy the people, the government had to make verbal concessions, but could not permit them to materialize.

On the other hand, the great *kolhoz* reform was not limited to the granting of individual allotments and to the differentiation of earnings of individual members through the ingenious device of the workdays. Once more (as during the NEP) natural levies were replaced by definite taxes in kind. In 1935 and 1936, they were greatly decreased and gradually modified in order to stimulate higher production. This complicated matter has been very well explained by John Scott:

> Previously grain delivery norms were fixed in proportion to the crop. Then in order to increase production Soviet authorities introduced the criterion of the sown area. The collective farms were obliged to contribute to the State a certain percentage not of the crop, but of the harvest which they theoretically should have received from their sown area. In this way, the collective farms were forced to struggle for a good yield per acre, or they might not have enough bread to last them through the winter. Since the spring of 1940, however, the process had gone one step further. The collective farms were required to contribute a certain percentage of the theoretical harvest from all arable land at their disposal. It thus became the duty of the president of the collective farm to see that all his arable land was sown if he wanted to have enough bread to last through the winter. Decrees of this nature have been published applying to grain, meats, dairy products, hemp, flax, wool, fruits, and truck products.[34]

Since 1934, peasants have been allowed to sell their surpluses direct to consumers (not to professional traders, who are still prohibited).[35] The market is free in the sense that prices are not regulated. The government influences them, of course, for ninety per cent of the commercial operations in the country are carried out by governmental shops and stores; but the policy of the authorities is that of holding prices on a level which should leave the peasants sufficient profits.

On December 28, 1939, a sweeping reform liberated the

kolhozes from a substantial part of centralized tutelage. State agencies were prohibited from imposing on the *kolhozes* detailed plans dictating what crops, when, and how they should be sown, and limited them to giving general directions, while concrete plans had to be elaborated by the *kolhoz* boards of directors. The yearly plan had to be submitted to the district Soviet six weeks before the start of spring labor; it had to be ratified in the course of a week, if necessary, with amendments. Speaking before an assembly of Ukrainian collective farmers Scherbakov, a member of the Politbureau, said some very sensible things; however, they were hardly in accordance with the Plan dogma:

> Why should we decide that the *kolhoz* must sow so much oats, barley, and wheat, when the *kolhoz*-members know their soil better and may make better decisions? On the other hand, often specified kinds of seed are imposed on the *kolhozes*, though they do not appeal to the population. Now they are permitted to decide of their own free will. The government expects that because of this change the harvest will increase by seven million tons. From now on, the Soviet population will have enough shoes, clothes, and furs. The Ukraine will again be proud of her orchards, which today are unreasonably sown with wheat or millet.[36]

As often happens when speaking of bright expectations, the Soviet dignitary divulged a number of miseries in the past owing to the obsession of the rulers by the Plan dogma. The reform is well in line with the general trend of The Great Retreat. Its importance should not, however, be exaggerated because the decisions of the *kolhozes* are actually decisions of their executive boards and these, despite the principles proclaimed in the model statute of 1935, consist of State employees, usually Party members. Through them plans designed by higher authorities still may be imposed on the collective farms. Nevertheless, there is now the possibility that the voice of local men may be heard when deciding how the *kolhoz* land could best be used. Once more, the desire of the peasants to have much more autonomy in their collective farms has pierced through the crust of official enthusiasm.

Finally, the rural "political sections" were abolished in December, 1934; now special vice-directors of "machinery stations" supervised, in a milder way, the political attitude of collectivized peasants and *kolhoz*-leaders.

The combined effect of these measures has been a weakening of the rural-urban tension and an increase in agricultural production, not so pronounced as in industry, but still sufficient to cover the elementary needs of the population. It is true that the average crop of cereals has not substantially increased and that the fluctuation between good and poor years has remained very large, a symptom of relatively primitive agricultural technique. But the increase in the production of fodder, potatoes, and cotton has been substantial and has created a solid foundation for dairy farming, the production of alcohol, and synthetic rubber, and for the independence of Russian textile mills from import. The growing herds permitted the supplying of cities with more meat and dairy products than they had seen since the termination of the NEP. These were significant improvements, and still greater ones seemed to be ahead when war put an abrupt end to rosy expectations.

6. The edifice of The Great Retreat has been crowned by the "commercialization of the Revolution," one of its least known aspects and one of the few social inventions made under the Communist regime.

Reporting to the 17th Party Congress (February, 1934) Mikoyan, the Commissar for Inner Trade, naïvely told the story of this invention. Once, he said, he had a talk with Stalin. The subject was combating "speculation," i.e., the irresistible tendency of adventurous individuals to gain high profits by breaking through the official prohibition of commerce. Supplying commodities which could not be found in sufficient quantities on the official market, they made several hundred per cent profit. Suddenly Stalin got an inspiration: if such profits were possible, why should they be gained by private individuals and not by the State treasury? Mikoyan applauded, and very soon a system was put into force which now forms the backbone of Soviet trade and finance. To this system the term

"commercialization of the Revolution" seems to be adequate, though it never could be found in official sources.

Not every Revolution could be commercialized, but the Communist one in Russia could be. The State, as the only producer of industrial commodities and the overlord of agricultural productions, establishes how many commodities of every kind will be released on the market. As the monopolistic tradesman, it fixes the prices and holds them on a high level. It has to acquire part of the raw material it needs from collective farms and uses the combined strength of sovereignty and monopoly to accomplish this at ridiculously low prices. As the monopolistic employer, the State fixes the wages and once more holds them on a low level. Thus the State, as the only businessman of the country, is able to earn very high profits and at the same time secures the stability of currency and the budget.

To make things clearer, let us use the example of bread. Collecting grain from the farmers, the State pays them .09 ruble for a kilogram, but the State bakeries sell a kilo of bread for .60-1.50 rubles, depending on the quality and locality.[37] Assuming that the cost of production, besides the cost of grain, is once more .09 ruble, and without considering that one kilo grain yields more than one kilo bread, for .18 ruble spent, the State receives on the average of 1.15 rubles, making a profit of nearly 500%. The difference between the price of the finished goods and the cost of production is officially called the "turnover tax," [38] and the yield of this tax forms more than two-thirds of the entire State revenue.

Stalin's hunch has materialized: the Soviet State makes profits from its trade of which no "capitalist exploiter" could even dream. Naturally, this high profit is not simply distributed among those who hold power. The State revenue serves to pay both the current State expenses and the cost of "socialist construction," or of the expansion of the industrial equipment of the country, in accordance with the principle of the Five-Year-Plans. In these expenses, the wages and salaries form the bulk, and among the salaries the high remuneration

of the ruling *élite* and of their fellow travelers is a significant item. Since the ruling *élite* exerts unlimited power, it actually determines what percentage of the national income will be retained by it.

However, the mechanism is rather subtle and is hardly grasped by the large majority of the workers and employees. On the other hand, it actually guarantees the smooth functioning of the system, cushioning the numerous shocks which it continues to receive from foolish planning and lax actualization of the plans. Moreover, it has made possible the payment of high wages to the Stakhanovites and other favorite sons of the regime and thus has permitted the reintroduction into Soviet economics of the mighty stimulus of competition for the attainment of a higer status.

6

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding survey is obvious. In the field of economic activity, the retreat has been substantial, but still it has not gone far enough to substitute an entirely new pattern for that created under the Communist Experiment. The economic order created by The Great Retreat is a conspicuous compromise. The State has in principle maintained its monopolistic position; nevertheless, the monopoly is partly broken through the individual husbandry on the plots of the *kolhoz* members, as well as through the activity of individual artisans. The State economy is still centralized and centrally planned, but there is local planning as to the work of the *kolhozes* and of local industry. The State is the only employer and therefore it can dictate the wages to the millions of workers and employees. But, contrary to the Doctrine, the State had to recognize the necessity of differentiating the wages and salaries, making them dependent on individual achievement, thus creating the opportunity for competition between individuals for better pay. The State is the only merchant and therefore it can dictate the prices; but it had to abandon the idea of directly regulating consumption.

No basic principles can be found behind the concessions granted in the course of the retreat. The situation which has obtained can well be compared with a battle front after a military retreat: in one place the line has been thrown far back; in another almost no ground has been yielded; some strongholds are present which may be well defended, and other positions are weak and further retreat is likely. The only criterion of the concessions forming the retreat has been expediency; the Communist rulers have retreated as far as was proven to be necessary through trial and error, and have carefully checked their acts by the observation of results. It is undeniable that in general the results have been favorable. Once more, as under the NEP, the departure from Communist purity has been rewarded by increased production and satisfaction of human needs.

The final judgment about the economic system of the period of The Great Retreat is this: it is more efficient and in better conformity with the wishes of the people than that of the preceding period. The infernal tempo of the economic transfiguration of the country was abandoned and Soviet citizens witnessed something similar to the "return to normalcy," as was the shift from War Communism to the NEP. The policy of sacrificing the present for the future was mitigated, and the slogan of "wealthy and happy life for Soviet citizens" was proclaimed. Under the new system a gradual improvement took place, but at the moment when war interrupted it, a great deal remained to be done to give the Russian people conditions of life comparable with those prevailing in advanced countries of Western, i.e., capitalist, society.

The complicated economic processes which took place in Russia after the Communist Revolution may be summarized as follows:

1. From the standpoint of the Communist blueprint, the curve representing change in the economic structure consists of four sections, two ascending and two descending, corresponding, respectively, to (a) War Communism and the Second Socialist Offensive and (b) the NEP and The Great Retreat.

2. From the standpoint of the satisfaction of human needs, the economic curve also consists of four sections, two descending and two ascending: War Communism and the Second Socialist Offensive were characterized by deterioration, the NEP and The Great Retreat by amelioration.

3. A very definite correlation emerges from the comparison of the two curves; in Russia, in 1917 and after, the efficacy of the economic system has fluctuated in inverse ratio to the intensity of the application of Communist methods. Extreme Communist methods have produced economic disaster, while their mitigation permitted the economic system to recover and improve.

4. The major waves mentioned above (Nos. 1 and 2) have been disturbed by minor fluctuations. In the course of the NEP, central interference with industry was at a minimum in 1923 and later on increased; the amount of economic liberty left to the peasants was at a maximum in 1925–6 and was smaller both earlier and later. The great pressure of Communist methods corresponding to the Second Socialist Offensive was temporarily interrupted in March, 1930, and early in 1932. In the course of The Great Retreat, increasing pressure on agriculture was displayed in the spring of 1939. As to economic results, secondary fluctuations have obtained depending on good or poor harvests, which proves that despite speedy industrialization, Russia still depends largely on agriculture.

Chapter VII

WORLD REVOLUTION OR RUSSIA:

Fatherland Forgotten and Reconquered

1

When the Communists won control over Russia, their main preoccupation was to submit that country to a complete social and economic transformation on the basis of their doctrine. But this was not their only aim. According to the very Doctrine, the new rulers of Russia had to destroy national States throughout the world and organize Humanity into a Universal Proletarian Society. The means to that end was International Communist Revolution.

This end was not independent of the transformation of society on the Marxist pattern but, on the contrary, closely related to it. More exactly, according to the Doctrine, one end could not be achieved without the other. Capitalism, said the founding fathers of Marxism, is international by its very nature. To resist international capital and, later on, to defeat it, the proletarians must unite and create a universal proletarian front. Though the proletarians may like individual products of bourgeois culture, they ought not to care for the national cultures as wholes. The national differentiation of cultures is, in Marxist doctrine, one of the tools used by the capitalists to preserve their domination. Pointing to the differences of individual cultures and emphasizing the nations as entities, the capitalists divert the interest of the proletarians from the only significant social process—class struggle—to a number of nonsensical processes, among them the struggle between the nations and their cultures. Gaining power, the proletarians may preserve some elements of national, bourgeois cultures but,

nificant part in the preparation of the Revolution, and they were not inclined to permit a similar development to undermine their authority.

3. But the mechanism of culture management could be used to give new impulsions to creative activity in accordance with changing requirements. Naturally, the directions had to receive different forms in the various phases of culture. In the realm of science, the new impulsions have been adjusted to the political necessity of vindicating the rule of the One and the return to nationalism. In some specified fields, such as jurisprudence and political economy, a movement back to the doctrines of the 'forties or 'fifties of the nineteenth century has taken place, depending on the maintenance of Marxism as the official philosophy.

4. In literature, art, music, and the theater, The Great Retreat produced a sweeping change resulting in the glorification of popular art and the revival of trends which dominated the middle of the nineteenth century; these trends appealed most to the esthetic level of the masses. In architecture, the style of the 'twenties of the nineteenth century was revived.

5. In this way, the end of appeasement and preparation for war has been well subserved. But the possibility of a further advance of Russian culture has become problematical.

Chapter X

POPULATION, SOCIAL CLASSES, MORES, AND MORALS:

The Revolution Reflected in the Mirror of Figures

1

The processes studied thus far in the course of our analysis of the Communist Experiment and The Great Retreat were the particular policies of the rulers and the direct reactions of the people. There are, however, social processes which arise from the various activities of the individuals and groups as their unpurposed, sometimes unexpected resultants.[1] Such processes should now be studied as the impact of these policies and reactions on the movement of the population, the class structure of society, the spread of culture in its most elementary form of literacy, the manner of living, and the respect of the people for the moral rules by which they were bound when the revolutionary disintegration started. Data relating to these important phases in the life of a nation may help us clarify some of the statements of the earlier chapters and prepare the establishment of a final balance sheet of the Revolution. For the latter purpose, data concerning the revolutionary period must be confronted with data expressing the conditions in Imperial Russia. Whenever possible, the data in question will be given quantitative expression, to make it a really solid background for the final judgments.

2

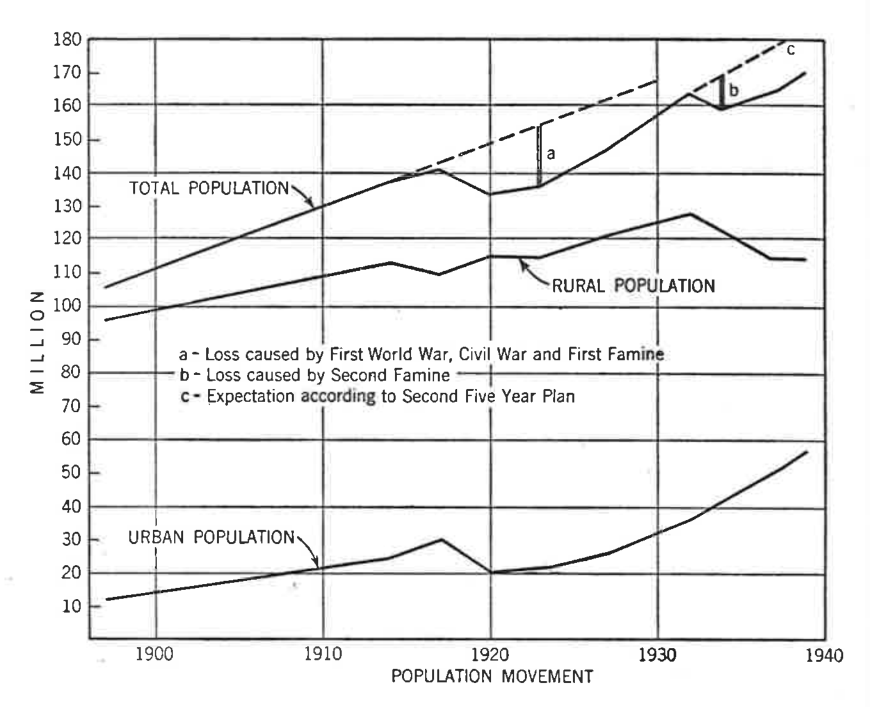
To begin with, what was the population movement before the Revolution and in the course of the revolutionary period of Russian history? *

* For the following, see Table 1 in Appendix II, and Chart V.

The only complete census in Imperial Russia took place on February 8, 1897. It showed a population of 106 million within the territory occupied by the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939; 12.2 million (11.5%) lived in towns and 93.8 million (88.5%) in rural districts.[2]

Seventeen years later, on January 1, 1914, i.e., just before the World War, the estimated population was 138.1 million (18.4% urban and 81.6% rural). This meant a yearly (geometric) increase rate of 16 per thousand; for the last three years before the war this rate was 20.0, 18.9 and 18.3 per thousand, respectively.

War resulted in a substantial decline in the rate of increase. On January 1, 1917, the estimated population of Russia was only 1.5% greater than in 1914, or equal to 140.2 million. Had the trend of the previous years continued, a population of 145 million could have been expected. The difference of about five



V. POPULATION MOVEMENT

million can be only partly explained by the direct loss of lives at the front. Another important demographic phenomenon was apparent; the percentage of the urban population suddenly rose to 21.7%, a figure which represented a peak for many years to come; the sudden accumulation of people in cities certainly played an important part in the outbreak and success of the revolution of 1917.

During the following years Russia was in the throes of a civil war and went through all the hardships of a speedy and reckless social transformation. A partial census, taken on August 28, 1920, in combination with estimates for those parts of the country where no census was taken, showed a population of 134.2-134.5 million, about six million less than in 1917. This was the demographic cost of the first three years of the revolution, leaving out of consideration the expectation of an increase proved both by earlier and later facts. The census disclosed a reversed migration movement of the population: only 14.7% were found to be living in towns, a percentage substantially smaller than in 1914. It is obvious that during the acute revolutionary period many people hoped to find refuge in rural districts, where the Communist methods of administration were applied in a less drastic manner than in the cities.

The figures for 1920 did not coincide with the bottom of the crisis engendered by the Communist experiment. As a result of the decrease of sowing areas, crops, and cattle, a famine broke out in 1921 during which, according to official figures, about five million persons died from starvation and epidemics.[3] The famine, however, did not strike the whole area of Russia or even its greater part. In some sections of the country the situation greatly improved from March 15, 1921, when the first Communist experiment was abandoned in favor of the New Economic Policy, which created much more favorable conditions of life. The ascending trend was resumed in many parts of the country, and this compensated for the losses mentioned above; the population of Russia on January 1, 1923, may be soundly estimated as equal to 135.9 million. However, the population would have been around 150 million if the pre-

war rate of increase had been resumed about the end of the First World War. The difference of about 14 million can be considered the approximate cost of the revolution.

The next few years were characterized by a very high rate of increase of the population; it was 19.4 per thousand in 1924, 20.4 in 1925, and 22.7 in 1926. The census of December 17, 1926, showed a population of 147,027,915 of whom 26,314,114 (17.4%) lived in towns and 120,713,801 (82.6%) in rural districts. This total substantially surpassed that of prerevolutionary years, but the process of urbanization lagged behind prerevolutionary progress; the percentage of the urban population did not reach that of 1914, not to mention that of the abnormal 1917 figure.

The extraordinary speed of increase can be explained as follows: First, the consecutive disturbances of the World War, the Civil War, and the famine created a large vacuum which permitted a rapid increase of the population, without providing for *new* means of existence. Second, during the years of the New Economic Policy, the social structure of rural Russia was molded according to the pattern of the *mir* which, other things being equal, encourages a fast increase of the rural population.

The census of 1926 was taken a short time before the trend reversed. In 1927, the increase of the population was 21.7 per thousand, and in 1928, 24.0; it dropped to 21.1 per thousand in 1929, 19.0 in 1930, and 17.1 in 1931.[4] The point of saturation seemed to have been reached. Moreover, at that time the New Economic Policy was abandoned and the Second Socialist Offensive was begun, one of the principal elements of which—the collectivization of farming—resulted in the decline of crops and cattle similar to that of the years of War Communism.

The population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was about 163.2 million on January 1, 1932. For the following years reliable data concerning the movement of the population are almost completely lacking. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that during the following two years a demographic catastrophe took place which was for a long time denied by official sources. In 1933 a number of foreign correspondents published reports on the famine which they could observe. The series was opened by the Manchester *Guardian* in March, 1933. In April, Gareth Jones described the famine in the *Daily Express*. In June, Muggeridge made his observations in the *Morning Post* regarding the famine in the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus; he wrote that he had seen almost deserted villages, whose inhabitants had died from hunger. On September 15, Duranty informed the readers of the New York *Times* that the mortality in the Ukraine had at least trebled because of the food shortage.[5] In October, 1933, Lang, correspondent of *Forward*, testified that large sections of Russia visited by him had suffered from a terrible famine.

Moreover, in the course of the events in question, the present writer was able to read and make excerpts from quite a few genuine letters coming from Russia. The reproduction of some of these excerpts will give a sufficient idea of the extent of the catastrophe and of the mechanism by which it was caused.

Ukraine, September, 1933: The harvest has been brought in, but we have not yet seen any bread.

Crimea, October, 1933: About the time of the harvest, nobody had a piece of bread. Miserable conditions persist; our children are sick and underfed. For their recovery, flour and fats are necessary, but we haven't them. A moment ago my son came home from school; he is hungry, but I have nothing to offer him but pumpkin.

Ukraine, November, 1933: The harvest was very poor. Men have suffered badly. They have forgotten what it means to eat bread. If nobody helps us, we are doomed to die. We are very weak.

Crimea, November, 1933: We have no roofs over our heads. There is no bread, no clothes. Only my sister and I are alive, all other family members having died. My child is four years old. He asks for some bread, but I have none to give him.

Ukraine, November, 1933: Our homestead was liquidated three years ago. Nothing has been left us. We have nothing to eat but weeds. Our misery is beyond description. So many die from hunger.

Crimea, November, 1933: We are poor in the extreme and have no place to live. Bread is a luxury. We never stop being hungry.

Ural, November, 1933: Many people have died from hunger. In our family two cousins, grandmother, and mother died first; sister

Ann was the last to die. In our village, many families have completely died out.

Ukraine, February, 1934: Everybody is miserably poor. No potatoes, no beets, no cabbage, almost no flour. Perhaps one month more and then there will be hunger death. No dogs or cats are left. Most people have died. Their huts have been torn to pieces for fuel. We do not understand how we managed to survive so long. But now the time to die seems to have come.

The famine was at first denied by the Communist government, but on December 5, 1935, a significant article appeared in *Pravda*. It concerned the Don and Kuban districts, which are numbered among the granaries of Russia, and contained the following sentence: "The wickedness of the class enemy reached such a point that many *kulaks* concealed thousands of puds * of grain and let themselves and their children die of starvation." The story itself is quite incredible but permits the inference that in 1933 there actually were famine and starvation in the richest parts of Russia.

The actual number of hunger deaths in 1933 cannot be computed. However, the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on January 1, 1934, can be estimated at about 159 million, this figure being derived from that of the census of 1937. The difference between the actual population in the beginning of 1934 and a figure of 167.8 million, which would have been reached if only the prewar rate of increase had governed the population movement, shows that the demographic price of the Second Socialist Offensive was about eight million human lives. Still larger was the discrepancy between the actual increase of the population and the expectations of the Second Five-Year-Plan which, up to 1937, were officially considered as having been attained.

When Communist methods began to be mitigated, the situation gradually improved, and the upward movement of the population was resumed. The rate of natural increase was 12.3 in 1935, 14.1 in 1936, 21.0 in 1937, and 20.5 in 1938.[6] The relatively low figures for 1935–6 show that the process of recov-

* One pud is equal to 36.16 pounds avoirdupois.

ery after the famine of 1932–3 was much slower than that after the famine of 1921–2. The startling increase in 1937 obviously reflects the anti-abortion law of June 28, 1936.

Meanwhile, on January 6, 1937, a new census was taken in the Soviet Union. The findings of this census never were and never will be published; for in September, 1937, it was officially announced that the census had been disrupted by the activity of counterrevolutionary and Trotskyite wreckers.[7] A few important figures, however, were disclosed by Molotov at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1939. He gave one to understand that, in 1937, the population of the Soviet Union was 164.2 million, of whom 49.7 million lived in towns.

To make up for the alleged shortcomings of the census of 1937, still another census was taken on January 17, 1939. This time, in contradistinction to 1937, not only the actual population but also those persons who usually resided at a certain place but were absent the day of the census were to be counted by the census takers. This points to an important element in the situation, namely, that it was assumed that by eliminating persons of the above-mentioned category the wreckers of 1937 succeeded in obtaining an incredibly low population figure.[8] As early as June some preliminary figures were published which showed that 170,467,186 persons were found living in the Union, 55.9 million (32.8%) forming the urban and 114.6 (67.2%) the rural population.[9]

The change in the methods of registration of facts did not result in a substantial change in findings; the difference between the figures of 1937 and 1939 can be explained by the actual increase of the population during the two years separating the censuses. It is noteworthy that the difference between the "permanent" and the "actual" population (these are the officially used terms) did not exceed 0.75%.[10] The ruling group could do nothing but recognize that the population was much smaller than had been estimated. Unfortunately the data available does not permit the exact reconstruction of the dynamics

of the rural and urban population. The following statements, however, may be made.[11]

One hundred and twenty and seven-tenths million persons lived in rural areas in 1926; the peak of the rural population was reached in the beginning of 1931, when 128.5 million lived outside of towns, and this despite the fact that during the years 1927–1930 5.1 million had already migrated to towns.

During the years 1931–1936 the rural population decreased from 128.5 million to 114.5 million. The migration figures are available only for the first five years of the above-mentioned period; their sum total is 12.6 million. There is some reason to believe that the speed of the process was the same in 1936; this gives a sum total of 15.1 million during six years. The comparison of the figures concerning migration and the decrease of the rural population shows that there was almost no natural increase of the rural population in the years 1931–1936. In 1937 and 1938 the rural population remained stable, for the entire natural increase was absorbed by the migration to towns. How large the natural increase was can only be estimated.

Still another process may be observed in rural areas, especially in 1932–1937, and that is a rapid decline of the peasant population. This decline can be deduced from the continuous decrease in the number of homesteads or families, the average membership of which could hardly have increased. There were in 1932, 24,483,000 homesteads with 117.5 million people in them. In 1937, the number of homesteads was only 19,930,000 with 95.7 million individuals in them. This decrease may be explained partly by the catastrophe of the years 1932–3, partly by the increase of the nonpeasant rural population which, from about 10.2 million in 1932, must have increased up to 18 million in 1937, as the result of a partial industrialization of rural areas and of the increase in the number of Soviet officers, of persons active in public services (education, medicine, and the like) and of workers of machine and tractor stations. Since the rural areas of Russia were overpopulated, the decrease of the peasant population could be considered as a process of

positive social value, all reservations being made in regard to the methods applied to reach this improvement.

The urban population has more than doubled from 1926 to 1939. The increase was the result of the co-operation of three factors: (1) migration from rural areas, 18.5 million; (2) administrative transformation, 5.8 million; and (3) natural increase, 5.3 million.

The general conclusions of this study may be formulated as follows:

1. During the period of its existence the Soviet State was twice subjected to demographic catastrophe.
2. Each time the catastrophe was followed by a rapid restoration of the demographic equilibrium, though the speed of the process was not as great the second time as the first.
3. In both cases the catastrophes were accompanied by migration of the population away from areas where Communism was applied with greater intensity, to areas where the application was less intense.
4. The later years of the period studied were characterized by a partial improvement in the abnormal demographic situation in rural Russia.

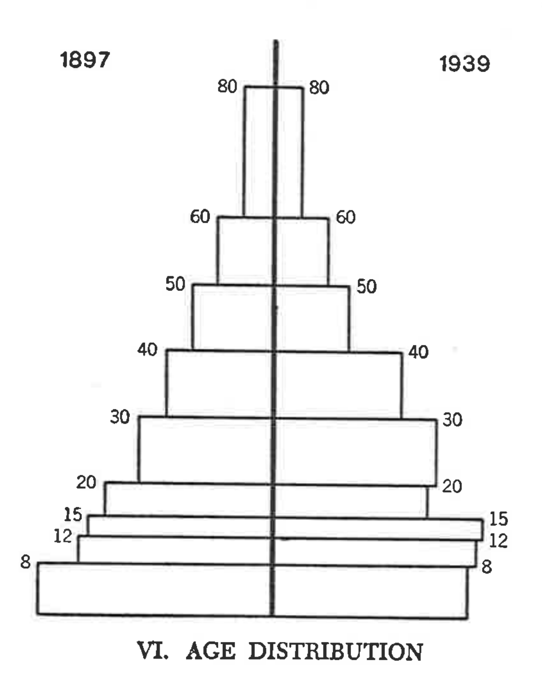
3

As the result of the population movements studied above, the age composition of the Russian people has changed significantly.* In 1897, the population of Russia was characterized by an extraordinarily high percentage of children and youths. 22.8% of the total population was below the age of 8, and an additional 25.8% between the ages of 8 and 20, with only 13.4% above the age of 50. The census of 1926 showed a slight decrease in the relative number of children below the age of 8; they formed 21.7% of the population. Most drastic, however, was the decline of the group of children between 8 and 12: they formed 7.7% instead of 9.1% in 1897. The explanation is

* See Chart VI.

simple, since the group consisted of children born in the course of the First World War. In contradistinction to this decline, the group of persons between the ages of 12 and 20 formed 19.4% of the population as compared with 16.7% in 1897; this was a consequence of the very high birth rate in the years directly preceding the war. The percentage of old people (above the age of 50) did not substantially change, the figure being 13%.

The census of 1939 displayed a significant decrease in the younger groups. Those below the age of 8 formed only 18.6% of the population; this relatively small figure reflects the numerous deaths of children in the course of the second famine (1932–3) and the relatively low birth rate in subsequent years. The group between 8 and 12 now formed 9.7% of the population, but those between 15 and 20 were strongly underrepresented: they were only 8.9% instead of 11.6% in 1926. The low figure reflects the low birth rate and high infant mortality in the years of civil war and famine (1921–3). The percentage



VI. AGE DISTRIBUTION

of the old people displayed a remarkable stability; once more the figure was 13%. The group of those between 20 and 50 was, in consequence, higher than ever. It formed 41.9% of the population, as compared with 36.2% in 1926 and 38.7% in 1897, a situation which, by the way, was very favorable for waging a totalitarian war, with its unlimited demands on manpower.

4

The change in the class composition of the population cannot be measured exactly, as change in rural-urban or age distribution can be.* It must first of all be described, and in this description these ideas will be used:

1. A social class is a horizontal stratum of an all-inclusive society, the members of which meet one another on equal terms and look on outsiders as being persons of "higher" or "lower" status.[12]

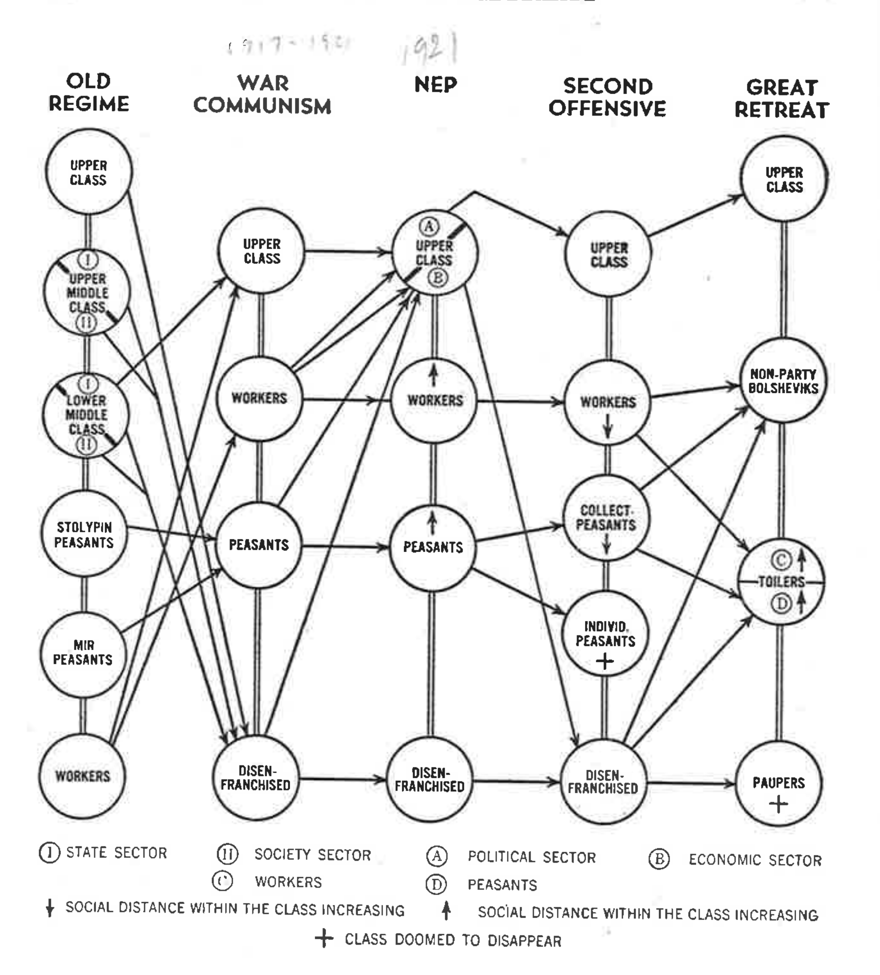
2. The criteria on which the distribution of the individuals among the social classes (stratification) depends vary in time and space. In each society definite criteria or social prestige are acknowledged and are ascribed different coefficients, so that the final judgment of a person's social status may be conceived as the solution of a specific "social equation."

3. In each society the individual classes are assigned different functions relating to political, economic, and cultural activities; the difference may be qualitative or quantitative.

4. Though as a rule members of the same social class easily associate (enter the specific relationship of "being acquainted") and intermarry, certain barriers within a social class sometimes exist. In such cases equality within the same class is still recognized, so that an eventual shift from one section to another is not considered promotion or demotion; but no social intercourse on friendly terms is permitted, or at least it is met with strong disapproval.

Officially, prerevolutionary Russia was an "estate society" —in other words, a modification of caste society in which the

* See Chart VII.



VII. SOCIAL CLASSES

social equation depended on birth. There were such estates as clergy, nobility, merchants-burghers, and peasants; but the basic estates were split into a number of subdivisions, the lines of demarcation lacked any precision, numerous groups were present which could not be located in the official scheme and, finally, it was almost impossible to formulate the specific rights and duties of the members of the individual groups. In actuality, pre-Revolutionary Russia was already a "class society" in the same meaning as Western societies are, with some survivals of the earlier caste system, but perhaps not so strong and conspicuous as in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Five main social classes formed that society.

The first, the upper class, centered around the Imperial court and consisted of the higher bureaucracy, high-ranking military men (especially of the Imperial Guard), the higher clergy, and that part of the nobility which had preserved wealth, especially in the form of landed estates. With some qualification, highly successful professional men, businessmen, and artists could be considered as also belonging to this class. In contrast with a consistently "capitalist" society, wealth and income were not the only criteria of upper-class position; being born into the class was at least as important and usually was conducive to fair advance within the bureaucracy or the military machine. Fine education was a necessary requisite (among other things, command of at least one foreign language, usually French). The caste-for-class compensation phenomenon was well known: members of impoverished noble families married "bourgeois" heiresses and thus preserved their social status. But members of impoverished noble families who failed in bureaucracy or the Army eventually lost their status.

The second, the upper middle class, comprised the middle grades of bureaucracy, the remainder of the military and professional men, part of the clergy, and businessmen, and the owners of smaller estates. Once more, education was a necessary criterion, but it did not have to be so refined as that of the upper class. High school education was sufficient and, although knowledge of a foreign language was widespread, it

was not a prerequisite. Together with the upper class, this class could be opposed to the rest of the population as "educated people" to "plain people." The two classes consisted of men permeated with the Petrinian civilization, a merger of old Russia with Western Europe, whereas the "plain people" continued living within the pre-Petrinian civilization, being only superficially influenced by the West.

Within the upper middle class a barrier of the type discussed above was present: the bureaucracy and the military men were frequently opposed as "the State" to "society," represented primarily by the professional men, whereas the landed gentry and the businessmen were divided between the two compartments according to their personal preference. In the pre-Revolutionary assessment of social forces, the former section of this class belonged to the same camp as the upper class, and the latter considered itself as supplying a natural leadership to the "plain people."

The third, the lower middle class, was predominantly urban and was separated from the preceding group on a basis of lower income or lower education or, more exactly, by a lack of contamination by the Petrinian civilization. Artisans, small shopkeepers, the rural clergymen, persons occupying the lowest ranks in the bureaucracy, and the so-called "semi-intellectuals" * formed this class. A barrier similar to that just mentioned existed here also.

The fourth class comprised the great mass of the peasants. At about the time of the revolution a substantial differentiation within the group existed: three levels—rich, medium, and poor—were commonly recognized, the first hiring labor to help till their allotments, the third being compelled to spend a large part of their time as hired workers on the landlords' or the rich peasants' fields, and the second being in the state of economic equilibrium, hiring no workers and looking for no jobs. With Stolypin's agrarian reform, the dissolution of the agrarian

* Semi-intellectuals are persons who have received some training, usually technical, and who carry out auxiliary functions in the administration, business, or the professions.

communities began, and the rich and medium-level peasants enriched themselves, whereas the poorer ones were driven towards the status of proletarians.

The fifth, the proletariat, predominantly urban, was, in Russian society, a relatively new phenomenon.[13] Though young, this class was well differentiated: the social distance between the skilled labor of older industrial centers, such as St. Petersburg, and the unskilled labor of the new centers was large. The higher strata of the class were receptive to the propaganda of the revolutionary leadership evolving from the society sector of the middle class, and were at least as "class-conscious" as the proletariat in advanced industrial societies.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to give an exact quantitative distribution of the population among the classes. Since the peasant class almost coincided with the rural population, on the eve of the Revolution about 82 per cent of the population must have belonged to it. The proletariat made up no more than six per cent of the population. As everywhere, the upper class was very small comprising, together with the upper and lower middle classes, about 12 per cent of the population. The smallness of the middle class, as compared with such a "bourgeois" country as France, was striking. But the structure just described was highly dynamic; mighty social processes were influencing the nation, dislocating the peasant class, undermining the upper class, and giving increased importance to the middle classes and the proletariat.

The February Revolution gave rise to a social order which was not given time to crystallize, since it was once more overthrown by the October Revolution of the same year. Tentatively, it may be said that the February Revolution lifted to the highest level the "society sector" of the former middle classes, and ascribed highest prestige to former participation in the revolutionary movement instead of to birth, wealth, or participation in the Imperial government. But the prestige of education remained intact, and no immediate change in the respective positions of "educated people" and "plain people" followed.

The October Revolution was tantamount to a complete re-evaluation of the criteria of social prestige. The nationalization of land, trade, and industry and the socialization of the professions (by transforming professional men into State functionaries) resulted in the abolition of wealth and income as criteria of prestige; moreover, the fact of having previously belonged to one of the economically privileged groups, beginning with the lower middle class, became a symptom for negative rating. Within the symptom of participation in the revolutionary movement, a discrimination was introduced: only participation in the ranks of the victors, the Communist Party, was deemed of positive value; participation in the antagonistic groups became another negative value.* Education was now a symptom of dubious and rather negative value; more often than not it was considered as circumstantial evidence for "bourgeois" mentality.

The impact of this rescaling of values on the individual groups was tremendous. The former upper class, the State sector of the upper and lower middle classes, and the bulk of the society sectors of these classes fell to the very bottom of the social pyramid. The proletariat exchanged positions with the peasant class; it was proclaimed to be the privileged class of the new society and was reinforced by quite a few former artisans and intellectuals, but it lost a substantial contingent through migration to the countryside. A new upper class arose, centered around some subgroups within the society sector of the former upper and lower middle classes. Thus, the first socialist society, the child of War Communism, was born. It consisted of the following four classes:

1. The upper class, comprising the upper level of the Communist Party machine, a few "fellow-travelers" originating from the society sector of the former middle class, especially from the semi-intellectuals, and a few recruits selected from the peasantry and the proletariat. This class received the highest social prestige, the totality of political power, and the

* The earlier participation in political life on the "wrong" side could be made up by timely joining of the bandwagon (late in 1917 or early in 1918).

highest income possible in a society where the Communist creed officially became paramount. Obviously, it was not granted ownership of the means of production, but actual management of the industrial equipment of the country and indirect management of its agricultural equipment became its social function, as well as did leadership in cultural activity.

2. The proletariat, consisting of "workers and employees," naturally of the State only, since no private bureaucracy could survive the wholesale nationalization of the means of production. A large part of the former proletarians, in addition to some former intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, formed it. High social prestige was officially ascribed to it, but it did not participate in political power, and the income of its members was on the survival level. Within the class the tendency was towards equalization: the same Labor Code regulated the status of workers and employees, and the differential between highest and lowest wages tended to disappear. When, because of the desperate food situation, the system of rationing had to be introduced, higher rations were awarded to manual than to intellectual workers.

3. The peasant class, formed out of the former peasantry plus refugees from the cities, proletarians, and even intellectuals. The division within the class created by the Stolypin reform was abolished, and all the peasants returned to the traditional agrarian community structure. Within the class the trend was towards equalization. To the thus unified class, the actual monopoly of the means of agricultural production was ascribed, but the individual members were denied the right to dispose of their shares, and the agrarian communities were limited in their rights through the overlordship of the new upper class. When the urban-rural migration of the early revolutionary years was terminated, membership in the class returned to the hereditary type: in the future only those individuals who were born into a peasant family could become members.

4. The class of the disenfranchised, thus called because its members were deprived of the right to participate in elections. To this class belonged the members of the former upper and

upper and lower middle classes who did not secure positions within the new upper class, the proletariat, or the peasantry. The status of the members was approximately the lowest in the caste society. Only the lowest social functions, primarily manual work, were considered becoming for them. When distributing goods according to the ration-card system, the government either ignored them or gave them an infinitesimal share. Whether the status was hereditary was not quite clear and, since the order existed for a few years only, the problem was never finally solved.

Once more only approximate quantification is possible. The peasant class somewhat increased in size and formed about 85% of the whole. The new upper class was as small as that of Imperial Russia. Perhaps 3% of the population were disenfranchised,[14] and 12% belonged to the proletariat, comprising not only the manual workers but also the new bureaucracy, minus its top level.

The social structure just described was short-lived. Under the NEP the following trends could be observed relating to vertical social mobility (the movement of individuals on the social ladder).

The new upper class of the War Communism period did not disappear but, in addition to it, another group emerged at the top of the social pyramid. These were the "nepmen," or the individuals who had to manage "the private sector of economics." The creation of this "private sector" was full of implications: once more, income started playing a significant part in social classification, and since part of the enterprises were returned to their former owners, birth, not in the meaning of titles of nobility, but in the "bourgeois" meaning of having been born into a well-to-do family, also resumed playing its part. Furthermore, education resumed its role in social classification.

The nepmen were not, however, simply introduced into the upper class. Under the NEP an almost insurmountable barrier existed between the two sectors of the upper class, one forming the summit of the political machinery, the other the economic top of the structure. Members of the latter enjoyed



higher incomes, but members of the former drew higher prestige from their location in the immediate vicinity of the power center. The two criteria of social prestige were ascribed approximately the same value, but it was understood that the two groups could not merge: one had to be either a member of the ruling *élite* or a member of the "Soviet bourgeoisie." To make the situation clear, the nepmen were disenfranchised, so that they could not participate in the determination of policy.

Owing to the revival of industry, a slight backward movement from the peasant class into that of the workers took place, which meant, in the new social setup, an ascending social movement. Within each of the two classes the trend reversed from equalization to differentiation. To the workers and employees, wages once more were paid according to services rendered, and intellectual work was now considered to be of higher service than manual. Among the peasant class, differentiation advanced rapidly owing to permission to rent-lease land and hire agricultural workers. A group of rich peasants, now called *kulaks*,[15] emerged; but, at the same time and at the opposite end of the social ladder, a group of poor peasants reappeared—marginal men earning their living as farm hands. The process was so quick that one cannot but suspect that, during the preceding period, equalization had not been so complete as it officially seemed to be. From among the rich peasants of the Imperial period, probably quite a few succeeded in preserving at least part of their wealth in the form of cattle and machinery. Other individuals had performed the miracle of "primary capitalist accumulation" in conditions where accumulation of wealth was considered an antisocial act. Now that differentials in wealth were legalized, the hidden differentiation of the previous period became open.

The higher level within the peasant class displayed the tendency to restore landlordship destroyed by the first agrarian revolution. There were peasants who tilled hundreds of acres and possessed thousands of domestic animals. These rich peasants, the rural counterpart of the nepmen, had some trouble with the local authorities. However, some of them invented an

ingenious technique to overcome the difficulty. Taking only a small allotment in the *mir*, a rich peasant pretended to be a pauper and, officially, was engaged by a real pauper as his hired hand; the contract was registered in the local Soviet and gave the desired status of a pauper to the rich man; this made him an acceptable candidate for official positions. Using his actual influence in the village, often bribing the members of the local Party cell, he managed to be elected chairman of the local Soviet; as such, he was able to report himself as a man absolutely deprived of means and therefore not subject to taxation, which in the higher brackets was heavy. On the other hand, the real pauper whose "hand" the rich man officially was, was instructed to hire workers and rent land; he appeared to be a little capitalist and was disenfranchised, which did not worry him, since the rich man provided for his livelihood. All these manipulations were possible only on the basis of the strong community ties which continued to prevail in rural districts, and of strong and corporate opposition to the Communist ideas.

The class of disenfranchised did not disappear but decreased numerically, having lost quite a few members of the new upper class. Moreover, the treatment of the members of this class was more lenient than during the former period, and the hereditary character of the group was not emphasized.

On the basis of the census of December 17, 1926, the following percentage distribution of the social groups was computed by the Communist leaders: workers and employees, 17%; peasants, without the *kulaks*, 76%; nepmen and *kulaks*, 4.5%; others (mainly the disenfranchised), 2.5%. The group distribution of the census does not completely coincide with that in the text; especially, it does not help in establishing the size of the upper class. The numerical predominance of the peasant class continued to be striking.

The years 1928–9 witnessed another reversal of the trend in vertical social mobility—a reversal as drastic as that of 1921. The nepmen class was destroyed through confiscatory taxation, open confiscation, or deportation, and sometimes execution of

had to exterminat Kulaks

its members for actual or alleged offenses. Those who were not physically exterminated were deprived of their high social status and returned to the bottom.

Within the workers' and employees' class, equalization was once more the rule, with some advantage in favor of manual labor. As in the first phase of the revolution, education was rather a negative than a positive symptom in social classification.

Within the peasant class one of the most reckless "social executions" known to history took place; overnight, the *kulaks* were deprived of their belongings, movable and immovable, and reduced to the state of paupers. Within the rest of the class a line was drawn separating the relatively privileged "collectivized" peasants from the underprivileged "individual" ones.

Towards the end of the period the leaders proclaimed that social classes had been abolished and that classless society had emerged. Actually, Russia was as far from the social ideal of Marxism as she ever had been. The social structure was this: the top level was occupied by the political sector of the former period, the economic having been destroyed. Once more, the political leadership was indeed very similar to a class, since it disposed directly of all means of production in industry and, indirectly, in agriculture; its standard of life was substantially higher than that of any other social stratum, though no ostentation was possible, since it would have contradicted the official achievement of classless society; though the group was not hereditary, membership depended, as a rule, on the historical fact of having been among the followers of the Supreme Leader for a sufficiently long time.

Immediately below came the Labor class, including those intellectuals who did not rise to the upper class. They had to work hard with poor remuneration, but they still were better off than the peasants, since the tremendous momentum given to industry had abolished unemployment. However, those who did not comply with the regulations or who expressed doubts about the soundness of the official policy were dropped from this class and fell to the bottom of the social scale.

Below the workers were the peasants. Among them the collectivized unit formed a relatively privileged group, in that corn levies were a little lighter in collective than in individual farms, and improved machinery, fertilizers, selected seed, and the like were distributed exclusively among the collective farms, in order to create an additional stimulus for joining them.[16] The lower group was that of the individual peasants. The society of the period of the Second Socialist Offensive resembled that of Imperial Russia in that two groups of peasants existed, one more and the other less favored by the government. However, the individual peasants of the years around 1930 were, actually, members of old-fashioned *mirs,* whereas around 1910, individual peasants were those who had separated their allotments from the *mirs.* In both cases the underprivileged group was doomed to disappear.

Membership in the two classes of peasantry remained hereditary but it could be forsaken by migration to the city and enrollment into the labor class. This step was, in practice, irreversible, since collective farms were not supposed to accept applicants for membership from the outside.

Finally, the social bottom was occupied by the disenfranchised, or the outcasts. Numerically, the group was much larger than under War Communism. It was composed not only of the survivors of the upper classes of the old regime, but also of survivors from among the nepmen, ruined by the second wave of nationalization, and of the *kulaks,* ruined by wholesale collectivization. Additionally, the class was augmented by those members of the Labor class or of the peasantry who made attempts to resist the official policy, or who expressed opinions incompatible with the official one. The status of the class was that of complete deprivation of rights: disenfranchisement, prohibition from working in governmental shops, no ration cards, and no higher education for the children. This time the group was definitely treated as a hereditary caste; very often inquiries were undertaken regarding the ancestry of the pupils of high schools and Universities, and the establishment of the fact that, say, an aunt of the person in question

had been a shopkeeper or the like was a sufficient reason for expulsion.

According to Molotov, in 1934 the distribution of the population among the classes was: workers and employees, 28.1%; collectivized peasants, 45.9%; individual peasants, 22.5%; *kulaks,* 0.1%; others (mainly the disenfranchised), 3.4%.[17] As always, the upper class was included in that of the workers and employees. Very probably, the group of the disenfranchised was much larger than stated. The proportion of peasants had substantially decreased, owing to the industrialization and rural-urban migration throughout the period.

Like the First Socialist Society, the Second was not given the opportunity to receive a definitive shape since, beginning with 1934, the social structure of Russia was submitted to another reconstruction through The Great Retreat.

First, the upper class which had emerged as the result of the October Revolution was submitted to the ordeal of a wholesale purge.[18] Firing squads terminated the lives of quite a few persons who, in the course of the previous phases of the Revolution, had been near the top. Others were demoted and allotted positions at the very bottom. Vacant positions, naturally, were filled by individuals emerging from other social strata.

Moreover, a new social class arose which later on was officially designated as "the Nonparty Bolsheviks." * Since it was assigned a position immediately below the upper class and above any other social group, it can be compared with the middle class of capitalist society. The members of the new group were recruited mainly from "intellectual workers" of the previous period, but quite a few manual workers, peasants, and especially disenfranchised persons were permitted to join.†

* This is a term introduced by Stalin in May, 1935, and heavily loaded with meaning. "Bolshevik" is the older designation of the ruling party; therefore, taken at face value, the term is a typical *contradictio in adjecto.* The term designates a man who, though not a member of the party (of the only party permitted to exist) shares its ideals, serves them well, and consequently must be ranked approximately as high as a party member.

† The so-called "Stakhanov movement" was used as a device for selection.

The main characteristic of the class is a relatively high income in the form of salary for services, either in administration, industry, or in activities which in liberal society are performed by professional men, such as doctors, actors, musicians, authors, artists, lawyers, etc. Thus, income as well as education have become undisputed criteria of social prestige. But the class has not been granted participation in political decisions, which has remained the monopoly of the upper class. It received, however, the function of managing the industrial, commercial, and cultural institutions of the country, according to the directions of the policy-making agencies consisting of upper-class men.

The line of demarcation between this class and the upper class is not sharp. No official or unofficial obstacle could prevent the members of the two groups from carrying on social intercourse. On the other hand, the two groups display the tendency to isolate themselves from the rest of society and to transmit their high social status to their children. Two devices are used: personal savings and the equipping of children for succession in the group functions. Saving and investing in state bonds is not only permitted but is socially commended; the bonds may be transmitted to the children of the actual group members, thus guaranteeing them a higher income and thereby an enhanced social status. Another form of saving is that of acquiring buildings, both in cities and in the countryside. The law restricts each person to one house, but cases are reported in which this law has been evaded, with the approval of the government.

On the other hand, the decree of October 2, 1940, which abolished free education in the upper grades of high school and in institutions of higher learning, is highly symptomatic. Since the managerial functions of the new *élite* presuppose high-grade training, it is obvious that the new *élite* is creating a high barrier to protect their children from two close competition with children born into other classes.

The rise of the Nonparty Bolshevik class was one of the main social processes characterizing the period of The Great Retreat. Another was the equalization of the classes of the workers and

peasants which was officially performed by the Stalin Constitution of 1936. Within the class of workers an unprecedented differentiation of income levels has taken place. Within the peasant class the difference between the collectivized and individual peasants has lost its significance, since in practice almost all the homesteads have been collectivized. Membership in the class is hereditary; one is a member of a collective farm when born into a peasant family. However, the social status of a peasant may be exchanged for another one; he may be offered a position which makes him a member of the Nonparty Bolshevik group or be transferred into the proletarian class; such a transfer may either be made on his initiative or on the basis of the law of October 2, 1940, on the State Labor Reserve. No shift from the worker class to the peasant class is possible, but members of the class may be rewarded, for special services, by transfer into the Nonparty Bolshevik group.

In addition to this, a group has reappeared which is more typical of "bourgeois" than of socialist society—that of the artisans. Membership in it is, in the majority of cases, derived from participation in the lower middle class of pre-Revolutionary society, which thus reappears on the surface after twenty years of oblivion. The group is socially equal to those of the workers and peasants.

With the Stalin Constitution the group of the disenfranchised has officially ceased to exist. Unofficially, it continues to exist, since those members of this group who have not been permitted to join the Nonparty Bolshevik group are assigned no social function whatsoever, and in a society where income is once more the main criterion of social classification, they naturally continue to rest at the bottom of the social pyramid. However, the hereditary character of the class has been abolished: it has been explicitly stated that sons and daughters of the former *kulaks,* nepmen, and the like may receive higher education and be appointed to any position. Consequently, the group will disappear when the last individuals now belonging to it die.

To sum up the changes in the social structure that have

taken shape under The Great Retreat, the following propositions may be formulated:

1. On the eve of World War II, Russian society was once more a stratified society consisting of definite social classes.

2. The following criteria of social status were recognized: (a) the fact of durable and loyal participation in the ruling *élite,* especially since Stalin's final victory; (b) higher education providing efficiency in those activities which are ascribed the highest value by the ruling *élite;* and (c) income, without distinction of its sources.

3. The social strata are: (a) the ruling *élite* plus a few fellow-travelers; (b) the Nonparty Bolsheviks; (c) the "toilers," consisting of the workers and employees, the peasants and the artisans; and (d) the paupers, or the formerly disenfranchised.

4. These groups are real social classes: membership in the peasant group is hereditary, and membership in the two upper groups displays the tendency to become hereditary, with the possibility of partial rejuvenation through outsiders selected by these groups. Definite social functions are assigned to these groups.[19]

5. Vertical social mobility is much less intense than it was ten years ago. Ascent depends on recognition of services by the leading group.

Approximate quantification is possible on the basis of statements made by Molotov in 1939, and on the findings of the census of January 17, 1939.[20] In 1937, there were in Russia 1,751,000 "enterprise managers," 250,000 engineers, 80,000 agronomists, 80,000 scientists, 159,000 actors and artists, 297,000 journalists, 132,000 physicians, and 46,000 judges and prosecutors—a total of 2,800,000 persons in positions eligible for membership in the two upper classes. An additional 2,500,000 were found in the bureaucracy. Assuming that their families consisted on the average of four persons, the size of the two classes may have been 20,000,000, or 13% of the population. This is, however, only a maximum: quite a few persons in the categories mentioned do not belong to the ruling or the Nonparty Bolshevik groups, their income being insufficient. The upper class has been estimated to number 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons,[21] with the middle class consisting, perhaps, of 8,000,000, or 5% of the population.

In 1939, the number of peasants (both collectivized and individual) was found to be 78,600,000, or 46.4% of the population. This signified a very substantial decrease both in absolute and in relative figures as compared with previous periods.

The number of "nontoilers" and persons of indeterminate occupation has appeared to be 1,200,000, or 7% of the population. This is probably the approximate size of the group of the formerly disenfranchised.[22]

Such is the society which has evolved out of a quarter of a century of revolution. In this society, as in every post-revolutionary one, some elements of the *ancien régime* have been merged with elements directly derived from the revolution, whereas still others may be considered as a social invention of the post-revolutionary period. Directly derived from the *ancien régime* is, in the majority of cases, one's location in the peasant class and perhaps also in the artisan group. Directly derived from the revolution is one's position in the ruling group. Directly depending on post-revolutionary invention is one's position in the new middle class.

This post-revolutionary society is still in flux. Further changes are probable. But the velocity of change has substantially decreased, and for the individual the chance of gaining higher social status is no greater than in bourgeois society. Since this velocity is one of the best criteria of revolution, later historians will probably say that the Russian Revolution as such lasted from 1917 to 1940.

5

In the fluctuations of the class composition of the Russian population, the most dramatic features of the Revolution have come to the surface. Almost as dramatic have been the efforts

of the Russians under the Soviet regime to overcome the appalling illiteracy of the masses.*

As has been shown in Chapter II, in 1914 the index of literacy of the Russian people stood somewhere near 40%. Its fluctuations in the course of the Revolution can be studied on the basis of the censuses of 1920, 1926, and 1939.

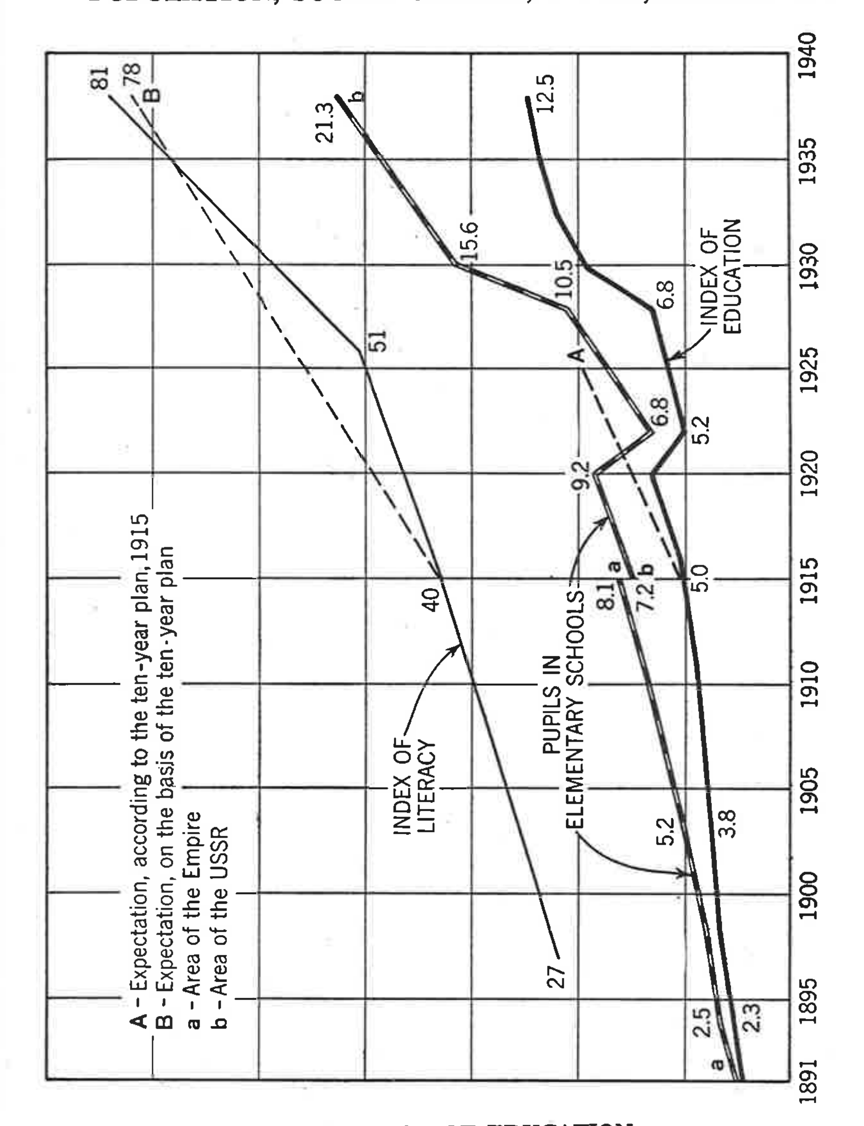
The census of 1920 was only partial and its results are only partly comparable to earlier and later data. From a report submitted to the Tenth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets (December 22-27, 1922) the following data may be obtained: in European Russia proper (without the Ukraine and White Russia) plus Northern Caucasus and Western Siberia, the index of literacy for men was 31.8% in 1897 and 40.9% in 1920; for women, 13.1% in 1897 and 24.4% in 1920.

We may infer that the years 1914–1920 were characterized by a decline of literacy, a natural phenomenon in a period of war, civil war, and revolution.

Six years later the situation was substantially different, and data relating to it are as complete and reliable as those for the year 1897. The census of December 17, 1926, established that from a total population of 114 million above the age of ten, 58.2 million, or 51.1% were literate. The differentials observed in 1897 remained, but were attenuated: 66.5% of the men *vs.* 37.1% of the women, 76.3% of the urban *vs.* 54.2% of the rural population were literate. The differential between metropolitan Russia and semicolonial territories remained very high; the index of literacy was only 10.6% in the Uzbek and 12.5% in the Turkmen Republic.

The age distribution of literate persons was substantially different from that of 1897. The maximum of literacy was attained by the age group from 20-30, and a more detailed study shows that those between the ages of 25-30 were more literate than those between the ages of 20-25. Persons who were 25-30 in 1926 had been born in 1901–1906 and, as a rule, had entered school between 1909 and 1914. Once more, facts confirm the proposition that in 1914 a climax was reached, to be followed

* See Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix II and Chart VIII.



VIII. ADVANCE OF EDUCATION

The number of pupils in elementary schools is shown in millions. The term "index of education" is defined in the text (page 34).

by a period of decline and to be surpassed only in the late 'twenties.

The census of 1939 has yielded the following figures: [23] 81.1% of the population above the age of ten were found to be literate. The differentials once more substantially decreased: 90.8% of the men *vs.* 72.6% of the women, 89.5% of the urban *vs.* 76.8% of the rural population had achieved literacy. Still, approximately one-third of the women in the countryside remained illiterate, chiefly in the semicolonial territories. However, in these same territories a remarkable general progress was achieved: the index of literacy was 67.8% in the Uzbek and 67.2% in the Turkmen Republic.

As regards the age distribution, 54.4% of the illiterate men and 50.8% of the illiterate women were above the age of 50 (born before 1889 and having reached school age before 1897). From this statement and the general age distribution of the population in 1939, it appears that among the population between the ages of 10 and 50, 95% of the men and 83% of the women, or 89% of the two sexes were literate. This means that in the Army raised by the Soviet government to resist Germany there were no longer any illiterate persons.

6

A revolution necessarily affects the people's mores and morals. This is especially true in the case of a programmatic revolution such as the Russian has been because, in the course of such revolutions, the leaders try to impose new manners of living and moral rules on the people. They usually meet enthusiastic support on the part of certain groups, but in the minority only, while the majority either continue living as they did or reluctantly and only partly follow suit. To establish the amount and distribution of the departures from habitual conduct caused by the Communist Revolution belongs to the most arduous tasks of the inquirer. What follows cannot but be a preliminary sketch.

The realization of the Communist blueprint was conducted

in specific conditions—those of destruction, violence, and class war. Disorder, even chaos, resulted. But in the eyes of the leaders and their followers, this was a kind of Sacred Chaos, to be memorized by later generations in heroic sagas. The victors, at least officially, were proletarians living in conditions of overcrowding and filth, lacking sufficient education and good manners. According to the Doctrine, they gained victory not only for themselves, but for the nation, virtually for humanity. Before the achievement of victory throughout the world they could not think of any improvement in their living conditions. A kind of Communist asceticism consequently arose; wearing rags, being disheveled and dirty became a virtue; seeking entertainment, social intercourse, or romance became a sin. Naturally, Sacred Chaos and Communist Asceticism became closely associated with Communism as such, though actually there is no necessary connection between them. In any case, anyone who wanted to "belong" had to be dirty and disdain order or any kind of superfluous embellishment of life, just as the opposite traits must be displayed by anyone who wants to "belong" in typical bourgeois society.

In general, the tendency has persisted throughout the Communist Experiment, though under the NEP a certain relaxation took place, and timid efforts to restore some features of the pre-Revolutionary manner of living were made. One can best learn about the general style of life under the Second Socialist Offensive from a few incidents which occurred when the tide was turning and that style started being denounced by the leaders—after they had changed their minds and directions. Then, it was revealed that in Kuschevka (Northern Caucasus) the Communists never visited film shows, they stayed away from gatherings in the Commons, and did not take part in athletic performances, since they believed that this would cause trouble. In Odessa, being unshaven and poorly clad was considered a symptom of seriousness and a businesslike attitude. A group of Young Communists inquired whether they were allowed to pay social visits, enjoy various kinds of entertainment, play accordions, and the like; they asked these ques-

century.[50] Juvenile courts and the like are no longer in keeping with the new trends, whereas capital execution, labor camps, and prison are. The necessity of maintaining order in a dictatorially ruled State has thus finally prevailed over the Utopian dream of changing the moral nature of men.

Chapter XI

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF A REVOLUTION:
The Convulsions of a National Body

1

We have gone through various phases of social and cultural life in Russia after the Communist Revolution and have established the complicated movements which took place in them. What do these findings mean from the standpoint of the shock hypothesis announced in the first chapter of this book? Do these findings corroborate the idea that the Communist Revolution introduced heterogeneous elements into Russia's life and that subsequent events may best be understood as a long process of elimination or partial adaptation of these elements to the historical framework of Russia? Or could they be understood equally well as minor fluctuations within its organic development?

Two main corollaries have been drawn from the hypothesis.

1. If a historical shock obtains aiming at the realization of a preconceived plan of social reform, then dictatorial rule is unavoidable.

2. If such a shock obtains, later developments display the pattern of convulsive movements, with frequent changes of direction and movements in opposite directions simultaneously going on in various phases of life.

The analysis carried out in the preceding chapters has first of all shown that a strong dictatorship emerged at the very beginning of the Communist Experiment, and that this dictatorship has not been lifted or even mitigated up to the present time. For many years those in power have explained the preservation of dictatorship by "the encirclement of the first

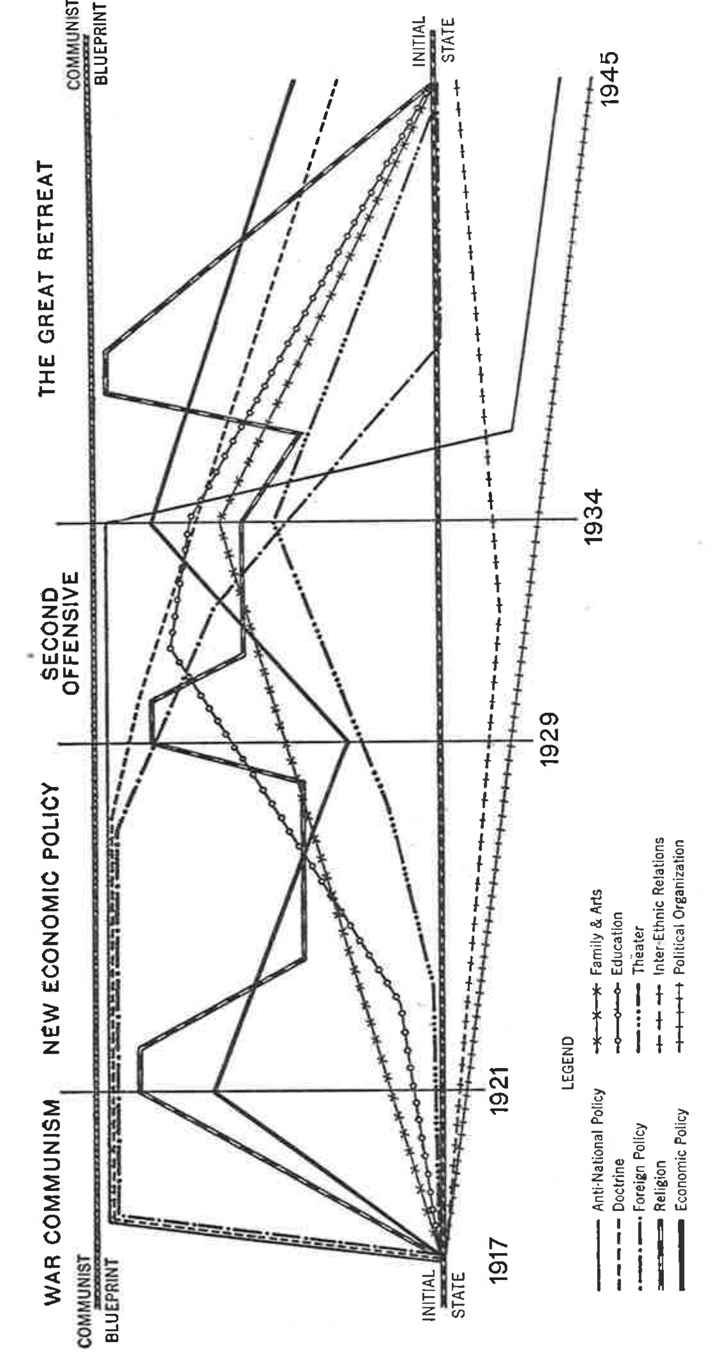
socialist country by capitalist nations," and the probability of "a capitalist coalition against the Socialist State." Events have not confirmed their views: war came to Russia, but it was not brought about by an all-capitalist coalition; on the contrary, in World War II the Soviet's allies were those nations in which capitalism was nearest to its classic structure, whereas the enemy had deviated from it to a great extent. Capitalism *versus* Communism has not become the point at issue. In actuality, those in power in Russia reason as all the dictators do: they assert that they know what the people need to be happy. They know that all peasants can be happy only in collective farms, that only the State management of all economic activities is conducive to the common good, and that all is lost if people do not believe in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. But they are afraid that those whom they want to make happy are unable to recognize the only way to happiness, and consequently they compel them to be happy according to the dictators' ideas.

The existence of dictatorship throughout the years following the Communist Revolution permits one to conclude that not only did a shock situation obtain from the start, but that it has persisted up to the present day.

The analysis has also established that the pattern of convulsive movements best characterizes the social and cultural processes which have taken place in Russia after the Communist Revolution. The movements have been so complicated and the reversals so numerous and so capriciously distributed in time that a considerable effort is necessary to keep them in mind.* This is a preliminary statement only, to be elaborated below. But it hardly could be disputed by anyone who knows the facts presented above.

Thus, the two expectations derived from our basic hypothesis are verified by facts. In consequence, we are entitled to retain the hypothesis as the scientifically valid explanation of the facts studied. Let us not forget that in earlier chapters (II-IV) we have found another confirmation of the hypothesis by comparing the historical trends of Russia with the content of the

* See Chart IX.



IX. FLUCTUATION OF POLICIES

blueprint, the realization of which was the end of the Communist Experiment. The hypothesis may now be called "theory." As in every scientific theory, it may be challenged by different means, such as bringing in additional evidence allegedly ignored or omitted in this investigation, or deriving additional corollaries from the hypothesis and proving that the corresponding expectations are not verified by facts. However, this situation obtains in regard to every statement belonging to empiric science where nothing is final.

Elaborating our theory, we must first of all try to introduce some order into the uncorrelated findings concerning the various realms of social and cultural life. Since we have to deal with a revolution, the problem may well be posed in this way: which of the possible patterns of a revolutionary process has been chosen by the Russian Revolution? [1]

Every revolution is a series of dislocations and reconstructions, but the process of dislocation and reconstruction may assume different rhythms. History knows many revolutions rather of the *coup d'état* type, where dislocation and reconstruction took place simultaneously; such revolutions may be classified as one-phase processes. More common and conspicuous have been revolutions in which the primary process of dislocation and reconstruction was superseded by another one, in the opposite direction, partly restoring the old system of values and even personal statuses within it; these are two-phase revolutions. But there may be more complex revolutions in the course of which the trend reverses more than once, so that they form a three, or a four-phase process.

The only way to find out what has been the actual course of the Communist Revolution in Russia is to classify the individual processes studied, establishing how many phases may be detected in each of them, and how these phases are correlated. But what is a phase? For the purposes of this study, a phase will be identified with a period of time during which a particular social or cultural process was running in the same direction, either towards the realization of the Communist blueprint or away from it, or during which the movement (change) was effected without increasing or decreasing the distance from the Communist goal. In all cases, the velocity of change may vary, and differences as to velocity can be used for the refinement of the classification.

On this basis, the individual processes may be classified as follows:

1. *One-phase process*. Here, two varieties appear:

(a) The movement may correspond to the straight line pattern, in other words, be constantly directed towards the ultimate goal, or away from it. Strangely enough, only one process corresponds strictly to this pattern, and this single process has constantly run away from the goal. This was the process of organizing and strengthening the political dictatorship. Contrary to the writings of numerous pro-Communists, who describe the events of the years after 1917, at least up to 1934, as a continuous advance towards the splendor of Communism, no process has followed this pattern. This is true even of such conspicuous successes of the Communist regime as social security and socialized medicine. The real advantages offered by social security have fluctuated depending on (1) the economic curve and (2) the government's eagerness to gain and maintain the favor of the labor class; in the course of The Great Retreat, it has degenerated more and more into a system granting special privileges to the new upper class. As to socialized medicine, under the NEP it was once more combined with private medicine, as it had been in old Russia.

(b) The movement may begin with a "spontaneous creation" in almost no time and then receive the form of maintaining the early achievement.* This has been the case in the management of culture, insofar as the form and not the content is considered. Culture began being managed from the first days of the new regime and remained in that state up to our day. Variations in the margin of liberty do not affect this stability and must be considered as separate processes affecting the individ-

* To maintain a social achievement necessitates corporate effort; therefore, in such conditions a social process does not stop running; what ceases is a change of distance from the goal.

future for the Russian nation. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, this better future was usually interpreted in economic terms: endowing Russia with heavy industry was a necessary premise for the later satisfaction of the needs of the Russian people through the development of light industry. After the outbreak of war in the West, they began to emphasize the military situation and to point to the importance of Russia's industrial advance for national defense.

In actuality, the Second Socialist Offensive was started as the result of purely political considerations, as a means of self-preservation on the part of those in power. It was not a voluntary sacrifice of the nation. No sacrifice could have been brought about by the nation since it never participated in the decision to launch the offensive. That sacrifice would be necessary was not expected even by the leaders. Military considerations could not have been decisive since, in 1928–9, no war was in prospect even in the distant future and the partial return to normalcy under The Great Retreat was carried out on the basis of military considerations: continuing the Second Socialist Offensive would have made Russia defenseless.

The study of the causal background of The Great Retreat is now ahead. But, prior to this study, a brief recapitulation of our findings as to the scope of the Retreat should be introduced.

Chapter XII

THE SCOPE AND THE MEANING OF THE GREAT RETREAT:

A Study in Statesmanship

1

In the course of this war, the Russians have displayed a corporate attitude which cannot be better designated than as a Sacred Union around national values. Union around national values in an emergency situation does not astonish us. It seems to be natural, and if a sizable group, the so-called Fifth Column, displays the opposite attitude, we are not only shocked, but also puzzled. But as regards contemporary Russia, Sacred Union around national values is astonishing and at the same time comforting, as is every unexpected advantage. Was not Russia, for many years, the stronghold of a culture which denied particularistic national values and, in addition to them, many values which were held supernational? Had not Russia become a Red Paradise, a preview of the Universal Communist Society to come? Was her unity—if any—not the unity of fighters for the Communist transfiguration of Humanity, not that of fighters for a national culture? Such were the fears of some, the hopes of others, when Hitler brought war to Russia and, later on, made her an ally of the United States.

Yes, Russia had been all that, and her leaders had been proud of having achieved the complete transfiguration of a nation consisting of 170 million individuals. But there is a tremendous difference between them then and now. To understand it, let us look at it through the eyes of an imaginary historian of ages to come who would have at his disposal detailed and accurate descriptions of the social and cultural order

in Russia, in 1930 and 1940, while the memory of events which took place between the two years and the names of the leaders would be lost. We may easily assume that, on the basis of such evidence, our historian would conjecture that between 1930 and 1940, a major revolution occurred in Russia, accompanied by a complete change in leadership.

Yet we know that between 1930 and 1940, there was no revolution in Russia, and no change in leadership. What actually happened was that for many years Russia was the scene of a Great Retreat.

Let us now modify the setup of our mental experiment and guess what the report of a keen observer could have been who, after having visited Russia in 1930, and having heard nothing of the country for quite a few years, would have returned there in 1940.

In 1930, on the streets of Moscow and of provincial cities and towns, only badly-clad men and women could be seen; the lack of any care for external appearance was emphasized and interpreted as a particular virtue. All these people seemed to have only two aims: to be at their workshops on time and to get some food in the co-operative stores, after having spent many hours in lines and then presented their ration cards. They never seemed to think of entertainment or of such a thing as a party.

Ten years later, on the same streets, people just as poorly clad could be seen, but also to be seen were women trying to copy Paris fashions, and men cleanly shaven and wearing starched collars. Those who were not so distinguished in their appearance obviously envied those who could afford it. Among children, the majority were in uniform; people explained that now uniforms were compulsory for all pupils of elementary and secondary schools. Among men, there were many in brilliant uniforms; some of them were addressed as captains or colonels and displayed on their chests insignia of different orders. When asked what these orders were called, they proudly replied that they were the orders of Alexander Nevsky, Suvorov, and Kutuzov. This seemed quite unexpected to our visitor, since in 1930 he had been told that all ranks and orders had been irrevocably abolished by the victorious proletarian revolution and that the memory of princes and generals had fallen into oblivion.

Following some of the individuals met on the street, our visitor saw them entering shops. Nobody showed any ration card: some spent their rubles with the same easiness as a well-to-do person in a bourgeois country, others counted every kopek, just as destitute people do among "capitalists." This was in great contrast to the observations collected in the course of the first visit: then, ration points counted more than money, and the amount of money in the purses of different buyers was approximately the same.

But now people not only went shopping. Many looked for entertainment, and their wishes were easily gratified. They could attend a performance of folk dances and songs, or humorous films, or shows in the perfect style of pre-Revolutionary days. But to do so they had to buy tickets, and not all could afford it: the distribution of free tickets had been discontinued, as well as the practice of offering propaganda instead of entertainment. In other places, people danced or studied dancing; ten years ago, an attempt to do these futile things would have been immediately stopped.

In 1940, quite a few people would stop to buy a book or a paper. They were quite different from those which were available in 1930. Even now there was much propaganda in them; but their content was not limited to propaganda. In the newspapers, an intelligent reader could enjoy good articles on sports, art, science, and technique. Books were no longer romanticized, but nevertheless bore descriptions of the great adventure of building socialism in one country. Quite a few people acquired classics, Russian and foreign, in good editions recently published. In general, cultural life was no longer dominated by the demand of being Marxist, as it had been then, though the negative demand of not being anti-Marxist was still obvious; still, cultural life was incomparably more diversified than it had been in the course of the first visit.

In newspapers such words as fatherland, patriotism, and

Russia were often recurring; in 1930, mentioning them was considered a definite symptom of a counterrevolutionary attitude. The visitor wanted to get some information at the headquarters of the Comintern; but he had some trouble finding it: the Comintern looked old and forgotten, already lying on its death bed. (We know that it died in 1943.)

Time and again articles condemning abortion and divorce could be found in the papers, and others glorifying respect to parents and older people. In 1930, the same papers conveyed just the opposite views.

Now, children going to school complained that they had to work hard. Among the main subjects of instruction were the Russian language and literature, and history and geography, about which their predecessors had never even heard; but now they no longer had to study sociology, or the Marxist doctrine, and they were very happy that this was the case for they heard from their older brothers and sisters that the subject was a bore. Some of the older children expressed regret that they had to obey their teachers, and take different tests on which their advance depended; they could no longer spend their time in debates about the international revolution, or religion as the invention of priests. In 1930, one heard that many children were refused at the doors of a school because they belonged to the "master class" of pre-Revolutionary society; now, this no longer mattered, but quite a few parents complained that their children could not continue beyond the seventh grade since the fee for advanced education was prohibitive.

Now, time and again one could see people within or before a church building; if they were numerous, militiamen secured order; one could no longer observe intentional disturbance in the form of antireligious processions or carnivals. To understand the change, our informer wanted to buy one of the antireligious papers with which he was familiar; but it was difficult to find one; nobody seemed interested in them any more. (Had he come two years later, the difficulty would have turned into an impossibility.)

Visiting a factory, our informer noticed a significant change

in the situation. Then, the principle of equal remuneration dominated, and nobody cared to work. Now, everybody cared since remuneration depended entirely on the quantity and quality of the work performed. In whispers, several workers complained that the wage differential was very high. And actually, it was substantially higher than in advanced industrial societies of the West. And the labor class was no longer on the top of the social pyramid. Engineers, high bureaucrats, successful writers, actors, and so on formed an exclusive group, the members of which could enjoy life in conditions which seemed to them royal in comparison with what they had to endure ten years ago.

In the countryside, improvement was undeniable. The peasants looked much happier than they had been then. When asked why it was so, one received the same answer: everybody is now free to till an allotment individually in the midst of a collective farm and breed one's own cattle; in general, the *kolhozes* are much better managed and no longer depend entirely on Moscow.

Our observer is supposed to be a keen one. Therefore, he could not fail to notice that not everything had changed between his two visits. Stalin was as omnipotent as he ever had been; when our visitor inquired about the liberties granted by the Constitution bearing his name, his informers only smiled. They also told him that the Commissariat of the Interior was just as bad as the GPU and the still earlier Cheka had been. All the factories and shops continued to belong to the State. The materialistic philosophy of Marxism, though in modified form, remained the official acknowledged Doctrine. The system of culture management continued to be in force.

On the basis of such observations, the scope of The Great Retreat may be easily established. As in 1921, the key positions have remained in the possession of those who gained victory in 1917. The difference was this: in 1921 the principle of key positions was applied in the economic realm only. In the course of The Great Retreat, all the realms of sociocultural life were passed in review and political dictatorship, State monopoly

of production and distribution, and management of culture were selected for durable occupation as key positions.

On the other hand, quite a few positions outside the central fortress have been abandoned. Among them, there is one which could be called Communist asceticism, the repression of joy and beauty, the imposition of boredom and ugliness. But Communist libertinage was simultaneously outlawed and replaced with the strong family pattern of olden times.

Another position entirely abandoned under The Great Retreat was the belief that men could be induced to work for the same remuneration regardless of their achievements. This was probably one of the most painful concessions made by the rulers.

A third Communist stronghold entirely abandoned in the course of The Great Retreat was that of Internationalism. "Russia first" is now the actual principle of Russian policy. This was probably almost as painful a concession as that previously mentioned.

The complete abandonment of positions held under the Communist Experiment, however, has been rather exceptional. The main pattern of The Great Retreat has been the amalgamation of traits of the historical and national culture of Russia with traits belonging to the Communist cycle of ideas and behavior patterns. The slogan reported above, "Russia is a great nation because it gave the world Pushkin and Lenin," means this: Pushkin is the personification of Russian culture; there is no necessity to impose attachment to Pushkin on anybody, because it is there. Lenin as the personification of Communism is, however, dubious. If the association of ideas between "Pushkin" and "Lenin" can be made very strong, then the support given by the nation to Pushkin will be extended to Lenin. Obviously, the two sets of traits cannot be amalgamated in their totality and without change. Naturally, the Communists wanted to retain as many of Lenin's principles as possible, and correspondingly, to revive Pushkin's principles only to the extent of sheer necessity. They were, for instance, particularly reluctant to revive the religious aspect of Russian culture but finally had

to give way. Throughout the years of The Great Retreat, they proceeded by the trial and error method, advancing here, retreating there, and selecting from the historical tradition such configurations as could be amalgamated more easily with their principles. As has been shown above, in many cases this resulted in the revival of relatively old patterns, superseded by others already in existence before the Revolution.

The pattern of amalgamation may be demonstrated in a large number of fields of sociocultural activity. The Russian Orthodox Church is once more a recognized, even partly privileged body; this is in accordance with historical tradition. But the State teaches antireligion in schools; this is in accordance with Communist principles. The *kolhoz* is a Communist institution, but individual allotments and cattle breeding revive parts of the old order. Painting repeats the style of the 'eighties of the nineteenth century, but it is used to produce portraits of the heroes of our day. In literature, Alexis Tolstoy's masterpiece, *Peter the Great,* is written in the grand style of pre-Revolutionary days, but is conceived in such a way as to show that Stalin is a dignified successor of the greatest of Russian monarchs.

2

The meaning of The Great Retreat can be discussed from the standpoint of the rulers, of the people, and of the objective historical process.

From the standpoint of those in power, the individual changes in policy forming The Great Retreat have been concessions, since in each particular case they had to abandon part of their plan or even some position already gained, and remold the social configuration according to ideas which were not theirs. This does not, however, mean that they had to yield to demands becoming too loud to be ignored. Under dictatorship, nobody is enabled to formulate demands, and the government has to infer their existence from the reaction of the people to their actions.

Only rarely were statements made from which the recogni-

tion of failure could be derived. These have concerned: (1) the failure of the antireligious policy; (2) the failure of aggressive internationalism; (3) the failure of political education; (4) the failure of education in general, and (5) the failure of the original *kolhoz* system to satisfy the elementary needs of the rural population.

In some of the cases already mentioned and in other instances, the change in policy was accompanied by a surreptitious change in the Doctrine, ascribing the former policy to the interference of deviators, wreckers, enemies of the people, and the like, and introducing the new policy as the correct application of orthodox Marxism. This device has been used regarding the revival of the cult of national heroes, the abandonment of the family and school experiments, the repudiation of revolutionary art patterns, the toning down of antireligious propaganda, the change of the official position relating to many scientific problems, the decentralization of economic planning, etc. Also often used was the pattern of acting without explanation: slowing down the tempo of industrialization, changing the modes of remuneration of industrial workers and collectivized peasants, curbing the excesses of local nationalism in "national republics," restoring the old-fashioned measures of punishing offenders—are all conspicuous examples. In a few cases, the rulers have used the device of making verbal concessions without permitting them to materialize in practice; such as has been the case of the Constitutional reforms of 1936 and 1944 and of the introduction of *kolhoz* and Party democracy.

Up to this point, the reforms composing The Great Retreat have been classified from the standpoint of their presentation by the government to the people. How do they fit into the general pattern of the period, into the general plan of the Retreat? This pattern has never been officially formulated, but it may be inferred from individual actions. First of all, the dictatorial structure and the personal position of the Supreme Leader and the inner circle was to be consolidated and whenever possible re-enforced.

Secondly, the antagonistic forces acknowledged to exist had to be appeased, the enemies being transformed into neutrals by eliminating the main causes of their hostility, and neutrals being transformed into friends and allies by meeting their desires. The latter feature of the pattern is easily recognizable in proclaiming a slogan for a joyous and comfortable life, in giving the people the art and literature that they can enjoy, in abolishing rations, in decentralizing economic planning, in muzzling laxity in sexual relations, etc., whereas the former feature is especially apparent in the mitigation of the very meaning of collectivization carried out to break the passive and impersonal resistance of the countryside which threatened to inflict irremediable harm on the food balance. It is also apparent in the abrupt shift from religious persecution to tolerance which was necessary lest the corporate strength of the embittered believers should join the enemy in the course of the anticipated war.

Thirdly, the efficiency of national labor had to be raised; this was achieved through a whole series of economic reforms, but also through the school reform and the restoration of the strong family pattern.

Finally, quite a few items of the original blueprint had to be revised, because experience had shown that they either could not be realized, or in the process of materializing produced unexpected effects of a highly detrimental character. The impossibility of achieving the Plan has brought the Communist leaders face to face with "the nature of things" and its reflection in the hearts of men, and with those basic moral precepts which do not vary much in time and space.[1] They had to acknowledge that it was impossible to build up a society based on irreverence to parents and elders, sexual promiscuity, the denial of the value of the fatherland, but also on the denial of economic self-interest and the assumption that man's nature could be transformed by order and propaganda. It also appeared that it was impossible to uproot the idea of God from a Christian nation, or to impose on other nations a blueprint which by historical accident had gained dominance in Russia. As to detri-

mental collateral effects, they have been most conspicuous in relation to the efforts to shake the three pillars of society.

On many occasions, when pondering the devices which could subserve the complicated purposes of The Great Retreat, the rulers must have been struck by the fact that so many items of the old order could, with slight modification, be used by them. The old school order, the old-fashioned type of family, the gamut of titles, ranks, and orders of merit, even Church discipline all proved to be very helpful in consolidating the dictatorial system, appeasing substantial groups of the population, or securing the efficiency of national labor. Step by step they were introduced into the pattern of neo-Communist society in the style of 1940 or later.

The new pattern of society did not first appear in the minds of the rulers and then become a reality. In the beginning, only a few general lines of the course to be followed could have been clear in their minds; only gradually, by trial and error, could it have received a more or less definite shape. In some cases the individual purposes underlying the new pattern coincided in their practical application and re-enforced each other; then, the decision was easy. In other cases, conflict situations arose, especially if the conflicting interests and desires of different groups had to be taken into consideration. Thus, for instance, the reform of morals met the desire of many people, but was opposed by quite a few youngsters enjoying sexual freedom granted under the Communist Experiment.

The necessity of changing policies which had been conducted on the solid foundation of the Doctrine could have opened the eyes of the rulers regarding the alleged infallibility of their prophets. We do not know whether this actually occurred, though change in the official Doctrine with regard to the role of the personality in history and the recognition of a few mistakes in Marx's and Lenin's predictions make the hypothesis plausible.

Perhaps many Communists are finally disgusted by the failure of other nations to make their "proletarian revolutions" and no longer believe in International Revolution to come. Perhaps in their hearts many of them never shared the application of the Doctrine to art: like all Russians, they loved popular songs and dances and in consequence enjoyed their revival. Lenin personally never believed in the destruction of the family, which course he had to carry out according to the Doctrine. In these instances there was not so much conversion as liberation from the yoke of verbal formulas imposed on the Communists themselves as part of the general framework of the Doctrine. Such instances should not, however, obfuscate the fact that The Great Retreat has been a sequence of concessions, great and small.

3

Concessions! This means victory, though partial victory only, of the nation against a reckless dictatorship. The plight of a nation is sad whose line of development is distorted by external conquerors; her plight is especially sad if the conquerors are barbarians. The plight of Russia under the Communist Experiment was very sorry indeed, despite the fact that her conquerors were not external but internal barbarians.[2] Consequently, such essential parts of The Great Retreat as the abandonment of the antinational and antireligious policy, and of experimentation in the family, the school, and the arts, were tantamount to liberation from a foreign yoke. And this liberation was accompanied by the disappearance of the most hateful features of economic experimentation. On that foundation, living conditions both in the city and village have substantially improved. They still are far removed from that joyous and comfortable life which the people have been promised, and are incomparably worse than in advanced capitalist societies; in the course of The Great Retreat, the latter has been courageously recognized by the leaders. But, in the course of The Great Retreat, the economic trend was consistently upward, and further improvement could be reasonably expected. This is what counts in the molding of the emotional "climate" on which the attitude of the people with regard to the government and the specter of defeat depends. Hostility against the govern-

ment was rapidly decreasing, and the will to fight an eventual invader was rapidly increasing. The policy of The Great Retreat had borne abundant fruit.

From the standpoint of the objective historical process, the meaning of the Retreat was this: the Communist Experiment was not a logical continuation of Russian history. It was not a sequence of reforms carried out by a nation that had removed the artificial barriers which had checked its advance. It was a major deviation from the straight line of Russian history. It was a distortion of the natural development which could be expected on the basis of Russia's past. This distortion was one of the possibilities ingrained in the very character of the revolutionary process, especially of that phase which we have studied in an earlier chapter, namely, the opportunist accommodation of the competitors for power to "the natural program" of "the revolutionary mass." It is obvious that the original program of a competitor is only temporarily repressed in favor of the opportunist accommodation. If as the result of accommodation the competitor wins, the repression gradually ceases to operate when the new order is somewhat consolidated, especially in its political phase. In such conditions, the new leaders are able to realize not only those elements of the program which gave them power, but also a part, at least, of the residue, that is, those points which were not at issue during the period of competition.

This mechanism has been conspicuous in the Communist Revolution in Russia. The people never endorsed the antireligious attitude of the Communist leaders which, previous to the revolution, was not included in the Communist "offer" to the masses. But after power had been acquired and consolidated, attacks on religion could be launched. The temporary repression of the agrarian program of the Communists could be dropped only twelve years after the acquisition of power.

This phase of the process cannot be overemphasized. It introduces into the problem of the final outcome of a revolution a "personal coefficient" which operates approximately as follows: accommodation of the virtual leadership to "the natural program" of "the revolutionary mass"; acceptance, by this mass, of the offer thus formulated; delegation, to the successful competitor, of the authority to proceed to reconstruction, on the basis of this program; gradual withdrawal of the repression and return to the original program; exertion of power according to this program, and not to "the natural program" of "the revolutionary mass." And since the revolutionary situation is no longer present, in other words, since society has returned to "normalcy," the propositions concerning revolutionary situations no longer obtain. Whether it likes it or not, society has to endure the power structure chosen in the course of a revolutionary competition for power. Whether the nation continues to accept this leadership will be decided during the next crisis when society once more has become plastic. Obviously, the test of a nation's attitude towards its government receives quite another form, if the revolution results in establishing a true democracy. Unfortunately, this is a rather exceptional case.

It is also obvious that the departure from the official program of a revolution on the basis of opportunist accommodation is conspicuous by its absence in cases when there is actual conformity between the original program of the victorious competitor and "the natural program" of "the revolutionary mass." It is also obvious that the possibility of concealing the discrepancy between the two programs varies in inverse proportion with the level of general and especially the political education of the nation.

In the particular case of Russia, the situation was most favorable for the display of the peculiar process just described. There was no conformity between the original program of the victorious competitor for power and the "natural program" of "the revolutionary mass." And the level of education of this mass was very low indeed since, in the Russian case, it was the nation minus the *élite*. This made concealing and obfuscating the discrepancy a mighty easy task.

In the course of The Great Retreat, the disruptions in the national structure effected by the shock of the Communist Revolution have been, in the main, healed. The history of Rus-

sia continues, naturally, modified by the shock. But once more it is Russia's history, not that of an anonymous body of international workers.

4

Why was there a retreat? Leaders, military or political, do not retreat without being compelled to do so. What were the particular pressures under which the Communist leaders had to undo a large part of what they had previously done?

A discussion of these causes may be conducted on two levels, the abstract and the concrete. Abstractly, we may say that all revolutions must in part undo what they have done if the society in which the revolution has taken place is to survive. This is the golden rule drawn by historians from the French revolutionary and post-revolutionary epochs: post-revolutionary France is a child both of the Revolution and of the *ancien régime*.

The outcome of the Russian Revolution must be the same. Any vital society, after suffering an eruption, returns to the climate best suited to its nature and its historical evolution.[3] Therefore, one may say that the very logic of history forced the Communists either to retreat or to cede leadership to another group, after another revolution. Communists have always been able opportunists; in 1921, under similar circumstances, they preferred "a serious retreat for a long time ahead" to the distant threat of political breakdown. In the 'thirties, they once more preferred retreat to loss of power.

This is an abstract explanation which does not help us to understand why the retreat took place in 1934 and not earlier or later. A consideration of concrete events may elucidate this timing.

It has been one of the peculiarities of the Russian Revolution that the decisive reversal of the trend, the beginning of the period of the undoing of revolutionary mischiefs, was never acknowledged and announced. Officially, the Communist Experiment continued going on, but its very meaning was surreptitiously changed: as has already been mentioned, in the official Doctrine in the edition of 1934 and later, many items of the former Communist Experiment were declared to have been "petty bourgeois deviations" from pure Communism and, vice-versa, many elements of Tradition previously ridiculed and combated were introduced into the official Doctrine. Thus, when retreating, the Communists tried to maintain the fiction of a triumphant ascent towards the felicity of Communism. Difficulties decreased and living conditions improved owing to the fact that pure Communism was no longer alive. But, officially, improvement was ascribed to the accumulated victories of Communism.

It is amazing how well the Utopians succeeded in their masquerade, at least concerning the outer world: only a minority of authors writing outside of Russia, and therefore free to express their opinions, qualified the later developments either as the Revolution Betrayed—if they continued cherishing the Doctrine—or as the Nationalization of an International Revolution, if they liked that particular phase of the change. But the majority did not realize the reversal of the trend and continued describing Russian events as a straight line advance.

Since The Great Retreat never was acknowledged and announced, it is impossible to establish exactly what reasons compelled the Utopians to change their minds and when and how this change took place. Therefore, a tentative reconstruction on the basis of circumstantial evidence is the only possibility left. In many cases, the very nature of the measures taken enable one to hazard a guess as to the problems which the rulers had to solve.

Evidence available allows us to formulate this hypothesis: The Communists had to terminate the Second Socialist Offensive and to begin The Great Retreat because, in 1934, two chains of events converged. One was the conspicuous failure of major phases of the Experiment. The other was the rise of the real danger of being attacked by a mighty coalition.

But has the Communist Experiment been a failure? Was not Russia at least introduced into the family of industrialized na-

tions? Today, in the light of later events, one is inclined to feel nothing but admiration for the wisdom of the policy which endowed Russia with a strong industrial basis. Without the hastily created industrial equipment, one could say, the magnificent resistance of the Russians to German aggression would have been impossible. The tragedy of the nations conquered by Hitler has proven that valor alone is not sufficient.

There can be no doubt that the industrialization of Russia in the course of the Five-Year-Plans has been beneficial. Let us, however, not forget that rapid industrialization had been the way of pre-Revolutionary Russia, and that it was the Communist Revolution which retarded that process by many years. Proceeding to rapid industrialization, the Communist leaders made up for one of the greatest mischiefs of the Revolution. So far their policy deserves unqualified approval.

But a policy cannot be judged on the basis of its end only. Besides the end, there are the means, and the tempo, and the cost, and the collateral effects. If such yardsticks are used, then the basic approval must be qualified and, what is important in this context, very probably it has been qualified by the framers and executors of the policy also.

Gigantic industrial plants have emerged in Russia and her productive capacity has grown much higher. But the tempo chosen in the beginning proved to be detrimental, since the industrial advance was balanced by the wholesale destruction of agriculture and the undermining of the nation as a biological aggregate. Men were working day and night, increasing quantities of raw material were used, but millions had to die from starvation: a truly diabolical picture to appear in the midst of a society which had been promised paradise on earth. In the course of The Great Retreat this was tacitly recognized and the tempo slowed down. Directing Russia towards industrialization, the Communist rulers acted in accordance with one of the major trends of recent Russian history; but skyrocketing the tempo, they acted as the Utopians which they are. In slowing down, they made up once more for the harm they had inflicted. If from the start the tempo had not been chosen on

Utopian grounds, achievement would have been higher and more harmonious than it actually was.

When men have to die from starvation, this means that something is wrong with the economic machinery, be it capitalist or socialist. The Communist rulers could and did deny the catastrophe caused by their policy, but they certainly perceived it. Simultaneously, they had to face another catastrophe: this was the disintegration of the educational system, despite redundant reports about its achievements. Of course, rapidly increasing millions of children of school age were given access to education, and the number of students in institutions of higher learning showed an almost vertical ascent. But the methods of teaching and training in the style of the Communist Experiment once more made the efforts of both teachers and students nothing but a waste of time. There were hundreds of thousands of students in institutions of higher learning, but they hardly knew the three R's. Despite strenuous efforts, they could not gain that command of the elementary forces of nature which is the key to advanced technique, because their minds were not prepared to receive the training. There were millions of children in elementary and secondary schools, but actually they acquired mastery in one art only—that of discussing, in stereotyped terms, political and social problems. Here was a conspicuous danger: the program of industrialization was likely to collapse if there were no longer human agents able to operate it.

Moreover, the persistent efforts aiming at the destruction of the family resulted in creating an army of quite a few million neglected and homeless children whose rising delinquency gradually appeared to be an unbearable social plague.

Chaos instead of frictionless motion in industry; millions of men dying from collectivization; culture catastrophe; disruption of community ties and rising criminality—were these not signals understandable even to the blindest of Utopians? And still they could have continued their Experiment, at least for a while; this time, in contradistinction to 1921–2 and 1928–9, no revolution seemed to threaten. What threatened, and what in

due time they recognized as threatening, was foreign conquest and, for them, loss of power.

How, precisely, did the threat of war and defeat and loss of power appear on the horizon? In 1931, Japan invaded Southern Manchuria, and the next year, Northern Manchuria, close to the Soviet border. For the first time since 1920, a real threat of war appeared on the political horizon. However, this virtual war was merely colonial and did not menace the regime. In 1933, Hitler came into power in Germany and began his vociferous attack on Communism. At first, the permanence of Hitler's government was questioned; between Russia and Germany there was Poland, whose army in 1933 was obviously stronger than Germany's. But in January, 1934, the German-Polish pact was signed. Then, the imminence of war was appreciated in Moscow, and the pact was understood as an alliance hostile to the Soviet State.

It was the coincidence of two negative phases, one external and the other internal, which made The Great Retreat inevitable. Were the Communist Experiment a success, as the rulers claimed, the emergence of a danger from the outside would not have compelled them to change policy. Had the nation adopted the Communist ideal, then the adequate response would have been—more and purer Communism. But the nation did not accept it; of this the rulers were fully aware. They understood that they had to imbue the nation with the fighting spirit without which war is lost before it begins. Therefore they had to bring back the very force which they had tried to uproot—the national sentiment. In addition to this they had to bring back the incentive of economic self-interest vilified by the Doctrine.

On the other hand, were there no danger from the outside, the rulers would probably have continued their experimentation. On previous occasions they changed their policy drastically, but in one set of conditions only, namely, when anticipating the destruction of their power position by an insuperable revolutionary movement. The emergence of an external threat once more created a situation wherein the Communists had to choose between remaining Russia's rulers and showing the world the example of a consistently socialist society. Once more, they preferred to adjourn the Experiment *sine die.*

Usually a threat from the outside is independent of internal developments; it just coincides with them. In the Russian case, however, the situation was different; the danger from the outside developed mainly as the result of the activity of those who ruled over Russia and operated the Communist Experiment.

The existence of the danger was openly recognized and publicized. What was not and could not be conceded was that the very existence of Fascism was largely due to the foolish international policy of the Soviet in its first fifteen years. The threat of war, in the East and West, was a retaliation for the threat of revolution. In the East, it was the foolish policy of trying to sovietize China which gave Japan at least a plausible pretext for her interference with Chinese politics. In the West, it was the foolish policy of undermining every organization of the Labor class opposed to Communism which shifted the balance in favor of Fascism. Both policies were integral parts of the Great Experiment, directly derived from the Doctrine.

5

We have seen what the objective facts were which made The Great Retreat necessary, or at least made it the only means of avoiding military defeat, enslavement of the nation by foreigners and, as a corollary, the collapse of the existing power structure. But these facts had to be realized by those in power and they had to be induced to make the necessary adjustments. As has already been explained, nothing about their deliberations and decisions has ever been published, and we have to rely on circumstantial evidence only.

Almost never had the political leaders of a great nation been more mistaken about reality than those of Russia around 1930: on the eve of the most decisive change on the European, possibly the world scene, they continued to act as they had done for fifteen years, fostering internal trouble in every "bourgeois"

country, combating first of all the "social traitors," and thus helping the enemies of the latter wherever they could find them. Did not the German Communists, directed from Moscow, associate themselves with National Socialists in a big strike, and did not the leaders of the Communist International credit to themselves every defeat of the Socialists, even if these defeats were inflicted by Fascists? Did not the rulers continue their nefarious policy within the country, provoking despair and defeatism among the people under their rule?

There are reasons to believe that on the eve of 1932 the leaders did not yet grasp the real situation with regard to internal affairs. In December, 1931, at the session of the Central Executive Committee, a peasant woman delegate shyly introduced a motion to slow down the expansion of heavy industry and concentrate attention on the production of goods of direct use to the peasants. Molotov severely rebuked her and said that this could not be done since the achievements of heavy industry were not yet sufficient. In February, 1932, a Party conference * took place at Moscow. According to schedule, it had to last from the first to the ninth of the month, but was already closed on the fifth, since the members had nothing to talk about any longer. Since the discussion of the Second Five-Year-Plan was on the schedule, it appears that at that time nobody doubted that the plan had to continue the vertiginous ascent of industrial production.

Doubts first seem to have arisen in the course of 1932. In any case, it is significant that from May to December, the Second Five-Year-Plan was never mentioned, except on the occasion of a few reprimands at the address of extremists.[4] This took place despite the fact that the Plan was to start as of January 1, 1933. In actuality, it was confirmed only in 1934, so that for more than one year the country lived under the banner of the Plan, but without a concrete plan in force.

Very symptomatic events took place at the seventeenth Congress of the Party which confirmed the plan (February, 1934).

* A Party conference is a gathering of high-ranking Party functionaries, primarily of provincial and district secretaries.

The draft was much more modest than that discussed two years earlier by the Party conference.[5] At the Congress, the discussion was started by optimistic reports delivered by Molotov, and a number of provincial delegates introduced motions to increase the speed of industrialization. Then suddenly Ordzhonikidze, the commissar of heavy industry, brought in a motion to decrease the figures concerning coal and iron. A committee was formed, with Molotov as chairman, and at the end of the Congress its report was submitted. It decreased figures relating not only to iron and coal, but also to agriculture and the means of transportation, the number of workers, and the payrolls, and made rather modest promises as to food and other consumers' goods. This report was unanimously confirmed. Quite obviously a secret session had taken place at which delegates from the provinces informed the leaders that the country was upset by the announcement of the Second Five-Year-Plan which was to be as painful for the nation as the First had been.

The events at the Congress almost coincided with the signature of the German-Polish pact, to which Soviet papers ascribed the most sinister meaning. Since the first measure in the sequence of The Great Retreat took place in April, 1934—this was the resolution of the Central Committee concerning political education—it may be assumed that if and when the proceedings of the Political Bureau are published, a secret decision of the greatest importance will appear to have been made in February or March, 1934.

There is an additional piece of evidence which fully corroborates the assertion that the Great Decision was reached in 1934, and that it was mainly motivated by the anticipation of war with a Fascist coalition, and that is the sudden and drastic increase in armaments and military appropriations which started in 1934. For ten years, 1924–34, the strength of the Red Army was 562,000; in 1935, it was 1,500,000 and was still increasing in the course of the next few years.[6] A feverish activity aiming at the technical improvement of the Army started. Among the measures there was the restoration of discipline, which was inaugurated in 1935 with the revival of military ranks, and was

continued through the succeeding years, going so far as ordering the Red Army men to salute their officers when not on duty, and restoring epaulettes and swords as part of the uniform of generals and commissioned officers.* The military appropriation jumped from 1.4 billion rubles in 1933 to 9.0 in 1935, 15.9 in 1937, 40.8 in 1939, 54.0 in 1940, and 71.0 in 1941.

For our purposes it is significant that the process began in 1934. About that time, the leaders may have looked around them and discovered that they were completely isolated. The nonaggression pacts with their neighbors were of no value. The flirtation with France had not yet progressed far enough, and France was ruled by utterly anti-Communist groups. And, within the country, there was nothing but the hostility of collectivized peasants, the bitterness of the former enthusiasts of the Socialist Reconstruction whose expectations had been so terribly frustrated, and defeatism of a nation which had been deprived of her past and taught to despise her culture. Very realistically, those in power must have recognized that under such conditions war would mean defeat, complete collapse, and termination of their rule. Time was to be gained and fortunately could be gained, since their prospective enemies were not yet ready and had to rearm. Meanwhile, a completely new policy was to be inaugurated: the integration of the Soviet Union into the combination of forces antagonistic to Fascism; a complete change in the direction of the campaigns conducted by the Communist International in individual countries, Fascists and no longer "social traitors" being the targets; a complete change in internal policy, restoring the Russians' national pride and curbing the disintegrating processes fostered through the exaggeration of the inter-ethnic policy; retreat in the *kolhoz* structure, revival of the incentive of economic self-interest, granting successful men the opportunity of enjoying life in conditions of reasonable comfort, and virtually transmitting their social status to their children.

Whether or not they were converted to some new political

* In 1917, tearing away epaulettes from officers' shoulders was considered one of the major symbols of the victory of the proletariat.

philosophy, the Communist leaders made those adjustments which were required by the situation. The Great Retreat saved both Russia's independence and the rule of those who were in power. That was the natural reward for an ability to see things as they really were, and not as they should be according to one Doctrine or another. But it was an almost miraculous performance on the part of rulers who had been obstinate doctrinaires for many years.

Chapter XIII

THE OUTCOME OF THE REVOLUTION:

A Balance Sheet

1

The second patriotic war is more intimately connected with Russia's internal development than the Russian-German war of 1914 with which the First World War began. Through a complicated concatenation of events the war, which for Russia is the Second Patriotic one, was engendered by the success of the Russian Communists in 1917 and the consistent application of their program until 1934 or 1935.

Nevertheless, for the sake of analysis we may consider the Second Patriotic War as another and independent shock inflicted on the Russian nation similar to the combined shock of the First World War and the Communist Revolution. It is obvious that the German aggression has brought new and gigantic disturbances on the Russian scene, and that the main feature of Russia's postwar development will be adjustment to the new situation.

In consequence, the process of Russia's adjustment to the shock of the Communist Revolution which forms the main object of this study will never be resumed, at least in a pure form. Before having terminated the process of recovery after the revolutionary shock, Russia will have to display new energy to make up for the wounds inflicted on her by the war.

Under such circumstances, it appears that it is possible to draw a final balance sheet of the Revolution right now. In such an enterprise, both the state of Russia on the eve of the German aggression and changes which occurred in the course of the war must form the basis of discussion.

With what is the post-revolutionary state of Russia to be compared? More often than not the effects of a revolution are measured by comparing the state of a nation immediately before with its condition afterwards.[1] This procedure, however, is correct only if the nation was stagnant before the revolution. We know that pre-Revolutionary Russia was a rapidly advancing society for which the procedure is obviously incorrect. To measure the effects of a revolution in such a society, post-revolutionary society must be compared with that hypothetical society which would have existed if the pre-Revolutionary trends had not been interrupted. Such a society is obviously only conjectural, and its comparison with post-revolutionary actuality will yield results of only limited significance. But such "mental experiment"[2] is unavoidable in any evaluation of historical events, and the conjectural statements reached in this way are still more significant than statements imputing to the revolution all the achievements and evils by comparing the situation after a revolution with the conditions that existed before the event.

If the revolution is "programmatic," that is, conducted "according to plan" with the purpose of actualizing a blueprint drawn up by its promoters, then another comparison, that between the actual achievements of the revolution and the blueprint is also of interest. The purpose of this chapter is to make these two comparisons in respect to the Communist Revolution in Russia.

2

To prepare the correct balance sheet we must first of all, therefore, formulate certain conjectures about the state Russia would have reached if her development had not been interrupted by war and revolution.

We may assume that without the revolution the political forces of Russia would have achieved the transformation of the "dual" or "constitutional" monarchy, which ruled Russia since 1906, into a parliamentary monarchy in which the Crown

would have yielded actual power to representatives of public opinion. The franchise of the Duma would have been gradually democratized. The establishment of *Zemstvos,* that is, provincial and district self-government which, between 1864 and 1914, had contributed so much to Russia's advance in the fields of public education and public hygiene, would have been extended throughout the Empire, with perhaps the exception of some semicolonial territories; these agencies would have received a significant re-enforcement through the modernization of obsolete institutions of peasant self-government. The excellent judicial system which Russia had already enjoyed since 1864, curbed during the reactionary period before the Russo-Japanese war, but partly restored under the Duma, would have been expanded and improved.

The agrarian reform inaugurated by Stolypin in 1906, if peacefully continued, would have proved to be one of the greatest agrarian revolutions in history. By 1935, no agrarian communities would have existed, and the Russian countryside would have consisted of twenty million farms run on the basis of civil law of the *code Napoléon* type. Only a few landed estates would have survived: were the pre-Revolutionary trend maintained, by 1935 the peasants would have acquired almost all the remnants of the former quasi-feudal estates. The atomization of land ownership would have been balanced by a strong development of rural co-operation which had already attained notable successes in Siberia and Northern Russia. It is difficult to judge what the impact of these changes on agricultural production would have been. But since, in 1916, only 10 per cent of the arable surface was tilled by the landlords, the impact of parceling could not have been very important. A moderate but steady advance of agricultural production could have been expected. It would have been accelerated by the spread of general education and special training in the period actually covered by the Revolution. The natural agronomy.

In industry, the rapid advance of Imperial Russia in the last twenty-five years would probably have continued throughout

resources of Russia offered the opportunity, and the expanding population of Russia, in combination with improvements in agriculture, would have created a big internal market. Russia would have remained a welcome field for investment for Western European capital: American capital, very probably, would have been added.

A quantitative statement on the probable increase in production is possible. During the twenty-five years from 1888 to 1913, Russia's production of coal increased from 5.3 to 29 million tons, or five and a half times, that of pig iron from 0.7 to 4 million tons, also five and a half times, that of oil from 3.2 to 9 million tons, or 2.8 times. Assuming the maintenance of the geometric ratio of expansion, in 1938 Russia could have produced 160 million tons of coal, 22 million tons of pig iron, and 25 million tons of oil. The possibility of a slowing down of this expansion in heavy industry cannot be denied, but a tremendous increase of the productive capacity of light industry might have been expected with certainty. Such figures as 5 million tons of sugar, 8 billion meters of cotton fabrics, 0.5 million ton of paper in 1938 are rather conservative estimates.

A tremendous expansion of railways was also to be expected. In 1915 a governmental committee drew up a ten-year plan of expansion which would have added 30 thousand miles to the 49 thousand miles which were then in operation. That plan would not have imposed on Russia anything beyond her capacity, because an increase of the railway net by 2,500 miles a year actually took place for many years previous to the decision. Assuming some slowing down after 1925, a network of 100 thousand miles by 1938 could have been achieved without difficulty.[3]

Expanding industry and railways would have produced a rapid numerical increase in the labor classes, and with this quantitative advance, qualitative progress could have been expected: skilled labor was gathering in old industrial centers and tremendous efforts had been made to disseminate technical education in various fields. Russian labor was "class-conscious" and, with the liberalization of political institutions,

would easily have evolved mighty and well-organized labor unions. The social security laws of 1912 were considered by the government, business, and labor as just a modest beginning. On the basis of the consciousness of "social service" which prevailed in Russia at that time, a magnificent development along this line could have been foreseen. A significant improvement in wages and labor conditions could be expected in conditions of expanding industry and organized labor, which would continue the advance of the pre-Revolutionary decades.

Had agriculture and industry expanded rapidly, Russia even today would have been far from becoming a "saturated area" in which the increase of population was impossible. Consequently, the continuation of the population trends of pre-Revolutionary years could have been expected and on this basis, an *ex-post-facto* "prediction" of 180 million in 1938 is rather conservative. Gradual urbanization, as a result of industrialization, would probably have resulted in 30 per cent of the population living in urban areas by 1938.

In the field of culture, the main achievement would have been that of overcoming illiteracy. The magnificent efforts of the *Zemstvos* would have been continued and significantly accelerated on the basis of a law passed in 1910 which could be termed a "ten-year plan for national education." By 1920, all children in Russia except in semicolonial areas would have had access to schools; by 1930, this ideal would have been achieved everywhere. Since no special device was foreseen for the older age groups among which illiteracy was high, a complete elimination of illiteracy could not have been expected before their deaths. Still, by 1938, an index of literacy of 78 per cent could have been foreseen.[4]

By a parallel assumption, a great expansion of high schools, universities, and other institutions for higher learning might have been assumed. It is impossible to conjecture the probable achievements in science, literature, and art, since in these fields unpredictable "personal coefficients" are decisive. But one thing is certain: in each field, different schools of thought

and work would have persisted, criticizing each other, even fighting each other, but enriching themselves and the nation through competition.

In the field of religion, the liberalization of political institutions would probably have resulted in the decline of the privileges of the Established Church. The resulting liberty would have compensated for the loss of part of her flock to competing denominations, and perhaps to religious indifferentism. But the back-to-church movement which had started among the Russian intellectuals would have definitely re-enforced the position of religion in Russia.

This picture may seem overoptimistic, and perhaps overemphatic about Russian similarity to this country. But a striking similarity of conditions did actually exist.[5] Like this country, Russia is a continent. Her natural resources are second to none. She is far from the state of demographic saturation. The pioneer spirit had been displayed by the Russians when colonizing the southern steppes (now the larger part of the Ukraine), the trans-Volga region, the Northern Caucasus, and Siberia. The democratic spirit was well developed in institutions of peasant self-government, later on in the *Zemstvos*, and in co-operative societies. Among the intellectuals, the spirit of social service was at least as well developed as among the best social workers of this country. Taking into account the similarity of underlying conditions, the similarity in part of our hypothetical picture with the actual state of things in this country is an additional argument in favor of these conjectures. They were formulated on the assumption that the development would not have been disturbed by external and internal causes. But the second part of this assumption is contrary to fact: the geographical location of Russia did not permit her to isolate herself from the rest of the world as this country did during the period of rapid expansion, and in her history many tensions were accumulated which, in combination with the disorganizing effects of war, caused an internal explosion. In these matters conditions were not equal in the two countries

and there resulted significant differences in the actual course of events in them.

3

The Revolution of February, 1917, overthrew the Imperial government and for eight months introduced into the Russian tragedy a quasi-democratic intermission. Had the order of things then created lasted, many of the trends discussed above would have been given accelerated actualization, but quite a few significant departures would probably have taken place, especially concerning the social order: a drastic agrarian reform would have immediately destroyed the remnants of quasi-feudal landownership and restored the agrarian communities, reversing Stolypin's policy. Very probably, after having secured possession of all arable land, the peasants would have insisted on "full ownership"; thus, after a significant deviation, the goal of 20 million "little masters" in the Russian countryside would have been achieved. It is hard to judge to what extent socialist ideas would have been carried out in industry, but very definitely the laboring class would have made an extraordinarily rapid advance, both social and economic.

But the February Revolution was only a prelude which was not permitted to develop into a real play. For twenty-five years, Russia's fate was determined by the tremendous shock of the Communist Revolution of October, 1917. This Revolution was highly "programmatic"; in other words, its leaders had a complete plan of social reconstruction which, they believed, was the best means of making men happy. In their program, two aspects must be distinguished, the exoteric and the esoteric. The exoteric program was simplicity itself: the four slogans of land, peace, bread, and "all power to the Soviets," which meant the abolition of bureaucracy, gave them the decisive support of the masses for a short while. The acquisition of power was the necessary premise for the realization of the esoteric program. What was to happen to Russia if this realization were permitted to proceed according to plan?

First of all, Russia had to disappear, becoming a part of the International Proletarian Society of Marx's and Lenin's dreams. In this society no room was reserved for political institutions: the State, a "bourgeois" institution, had to wither away. No bureaucracy was to be maintained, all citizens would direct in turn the corporate activities foreseen by the plan: according to Lenin, every cook was able to govern the State. The standing army was to be abolished and replaced by civil militia. In that society of which Russia was to be a part, no individual ownership of the means of production would exist any longer; these means of production were to be collectivized and transferred to the society of the future which had to be purely economic and devoid of political functions: State capitalism was considered as bad as private capitalism. In the new economic order, the "capitalist anarchy of production" was to be overcome: no efforts would be wasted and artificial scarcity would be replaced by plenty and, after a short period of transition, permit the realization of the ideal of remunerating everybody for his work according to his needs; since human needs are essentially equal, this implied social and economic equality. Naturally, this new social and economic order could not be realized within a society holding to the cultural traditions of the bourgeois age. But since, in the opinion of the leaders, "existence determines consciousness" and culture is a function of the socioeconomic order, after the shift to collective production and exchange human ideas would change rapidly, old superstitions would die out, and new systems of motivation would arise to replace those acquired by men in the bourgeois state of their existence. This natural development could be accelerated by planned actions of the leaders. As a result, religion had to disappear quickly, and the stable family of patriarchal Russia was to be replaced by free unions integrated in the proletarian style of life. Living in conditions of plenty, working only as much as would be required by collective needs, liberated from any kind of exploitation and political coercion, free from "religious superstition" and from artificial inhibitions of the sexual instinct, men would be happy for the first time in history.

4

We are now prepared to compare the actual state of things twenty-five years after the outbreak of the Revolution * with both the conjectural state of things described and with the blueprint of Russia's new masters.

In contrast to the Communist plan, but in accordance with the basic expectations of the pre-Revolutionary period, Russia did not disappear. In the turmoil of 1917–21, Russia proved to possess much more internal cohesion than was assumed by her foes. She was not merely an agglomeration of provinces ruled by an autocrat, but the political organization adequate to the natural unity of a "continent." The centrifugal trends were easily overcome and, by 1922, with the exception of the western borderlands, Russia was again one. In the turmoil of 1939–40, the larger part of the western provinces, lost in 1917–21, were regained; the final outcome is not yet certain, but there is a large probability that, except for Finland and Poland proper, Russia will have the same frontiers as in 1914 after this war.

Even more striking is the fact that these frontiers will coincide almost exactly with those which Russia would have demanded and obtained if the Provisional government were not overthrown by the Communist uprising. That government had already proclaimed the independence of Poland proper, and nobody in Russia doubted then that she was entitled to acquire from Austria the provinces of Eastern Galicia (with Lwow) and Northern Bukovina (with Cernauti).

But the major fact is that the frontiers are there and quite certainly will be there; Russia has not been dissolved in the International Society which failed to be born. It is true that, for a certain period of time, the name of Russia was carefully avoided and replaced by that of the Soviet Union. But gradually the old name reappeared on the surface and, in 1943, in the new national anthem, the two have been officially merged. The people living in that State have rejected the Communist

* In other words, at the beginning of the Second Patriotic War.

injunction to become "citizens of the world" and, in the course of this war, have displayed their flaming patriotism or nationalism. Their revived nationalism, however, is not ethnic or racial nationalism limited to the most numerous of the ethnic groups living within the borders of the Soviet state; it is a kind of corporate nationalism, involving all the groups forming the family of "the peoples of Russia." This neonationalism is more akin to the older "imperial" policy which prevailed in Russia up to 1880 than to the narrower "nationalistic" policy of the last few decades before the revolution. In Imperial Russia, with the exception of the Poles, Lithuanians, and a few other groups, the non-Russian masses were characterized by double allegiance—to their particular group and to the Empire. Twenty-five years of the policy of racial and ethnic equality have consolidated this situation, and it is very probable that a great number of non-Russians consider Russia's past as their own.

This neonationalism seems to be stronger than nationalism ever was before the revolution. The explanation is that the attempts to uproot the national sentiment merely repressed it and, so to speak, condensed it; when, anticipating the coming war, the rulers of Russia reversed their policy and began to foster this sentiment, it not only awakened but became overwhelming. Very fortunately, it was not only intensified but also modified: lacking the narrow shape of racialism, this sentiment remains compatible with the recognition of human values and therefore will not necessarily prove to be a new source of disturbance in the postwar world.[6]

The Russian nation, which has become so self-conscious, continues to be politically organized—in other words, to be a State. The withering away of the State, foreseen in the blueprint, did not materialize; bureaucracy, police, courts, jails, a standing army, all these essential attributes of the State are there, and nobody can doubt that the degree of "coercion," that is, of the enforcement of the officially recognized order, has increased as compared with pre-Revolutionary times.

That the State would continue to exist was part of the basic expectation of the pre-Revolutionary period. This expectation,

and not the opposite expectation of the revolutionists has been fulfilled. But the State was to evolve towards democracy. Has anything of this kind taken place? The answer to this question cannot but be emphatically negative, and this despite the Stalin Constitution which, taken at face value, grants to the population both freedom and participation in the exercise of power, the essentials of democracy. Only a superficial observer, however, takes a constitution at face value. What actually matters is constitutional practice and, in contemporary Russia, the practice is as antidemocratic as it ever was since the overthrow of the Provisional government. In consequence, it can be said that the Communist Revolution has not only reversed the trend towards democracy, but has disposed of a number of institutions which in pre-Revolutionary Russia could be considered as precursors of democracy. In very modest limits indeed, the essential liberties existed in Russia after 1905–6; since 1864, the courts were independent and, in general, good. Today they are neither independent nor good, because their personnel does not master the "stuff of law." After 1864, Russia possessed an excellent system of self-government, but contemporary Soviets are merely agencies of decentralized administration, not of self-government. To find a political order in Russia's past similar to that of our day, one must go back to the reign of Paul (1796–1801).

The dictatorial structure was employed to realize the socio-economic phase of the blueprint. In this phase success, that is, the materialization of an order conforming to the plan, has been more complete than in any other. Except for a small number of "individual," that is, noncollectivized peasants, and of "nonco-operated" artisans, nobody can claim as his own any means of production, no private trade whatsoever is legally permitted to exist. Arable land, almost in totality, is distributed among 242,000 *kolhozes*. Trade and industry, as well as transportation, are managed by the State. Still, there is a significant departure from the blueprint resulting from the great deviation in the field of politics: industrial enterprises as well as agencies of distribution are State agencies, and not agencies

of the stateless society of producers which had to obtain according to the blueprint. Collective farms seem to fulfill the expectations of the fathers of Marxism better, but this judgment must be reversed if one examines things not at their face value, but as they actually are: these farms are managed by a special branch of bureaucracy, obeying the orders of the political leaders and paying only slight attention to the desires of the members. Therefore, in the opinion of the majority of the Socialists, not socialism but State capitalism has emerged in Russia.

Let us not argue about terms. The facts are clear: the means of production and exchange have been taken away from the former owners, according to plan, but placed at the disposal of a mighty bureaucracy, and not of that society of producers which, according to Lenin, could be run by every cook. In this phase of human activity, the development has been in direct opposition both to pre-Revolutionary expectations and to the blueprint of the new rulers.

A new social order has arisen. In the minds of its creators, this was not the ultimate end: the order had to be created to make men happy, primarily by satisfying their material needs. Thus, an extremely difficult question is posed: what has been the impact of the Communist Revolution on the material well-being of the population of Russia? The best way to answer this question is to establish what the new system yields as national dividends. But since the new rulers claim that they had to sacrifice present needs for the preparation of a better future, the question of change in national equipment must also be discussed.

Food supply is the basic function of any national system of economy. The crop of 1913 has yielded 0.52 ton of grain per capita, that of 1937—0.57.* The number of cattle per capita shows a certain increase as compared with pre-Revolutionary times, which is further significant if one takes into account that the export of food has almost stopped. It is, however, not

* Statements in text may be confirmed by figures to be found in Appendix II.

quite certain whether the improvement is real relating to crops.

After 1933, Soviet statistics are concerned with the "biological" and not the "real" harvest, i.e., with the quantity of grain which was ready to be reaped on the fields (the figures being necessarily estimates) and not with the quantity actually collected. A difference of 10% between the two figures is assumed to exist by authorities in the field such as Professor S. N. Prokopovicz. If 10% is deducted from the figure for 1937, no improvement is left. On the other hand, let us not forget that improvement was to be expected on the basis of pre-Revolutionary trends. It is noteworthy that the improvement appearing from figures for 1937 was, then, quite recent: a few years earlier, the situation was quite definitely worse than that before the revolution.

Light industry has been sacrificed to heavy industry throughout the three Five-Year-Plans. Therefore, up to 1934, absolute figures were not higher than in 1928, when the pre-Revolutionary level had once more been reached, after the catastrophe of War Communism. Between 1934 and 1938, figures were rapidly increasing. But if we compare these figures with the hypothetical figures which obtain when we project pre-Revolutionary trends into the future, the result is that the production of sugar and cotton fabrics has lagged behind expectation. It is only in the production of paper work that the advance has been very rapid--a natural feature in a country ruled by the greatest bureaucracy in history.

The industrial equipment of the country has improved tremendously. This improvement can be measured by comparing figures of production for the years 1913 and 1938, since in all these years plants were operated at full capacity. The comparison yields these impressive figures: in 1938, the production of coal was 4.6 times larger than in 1913, that of cast iron 3.4 times, and that of oil 3.6 times.

One might be inclined to say that never in history has there been an equally magnificent advance. To refute such a statement, one has only to recall the ratio of advance of industry

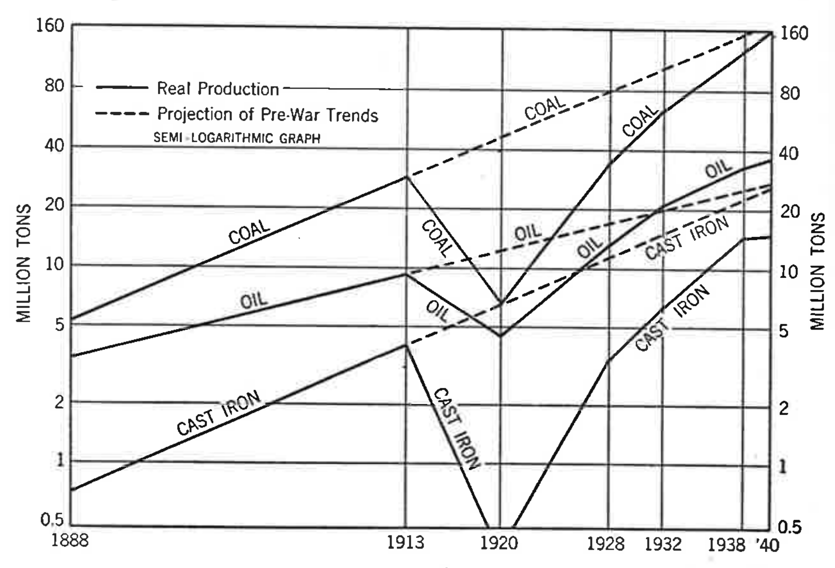
between 1888 and 1913, given above. Without revolution, the curve would have been different: instead of a slump in 1917–21, followed by a seven-year period of recovery and ten or twelve years of feverish activity to make up for the delay caused by revolutionary events, a relatively smooth advance would probably have taken place.[7] But it is significant indeed that around 1938 two curves, the hypothetical curve based on pre-Revolutionary trends and the curve of actual production reach approximately the same level, and that after this point had been reached further advance slowed down.* Does it not signify that the almost incredible efforts displayed in 1928–38 were analogous to the display of energy by an organism recovering from a sickness, up to the point when the normal state of things had been regained?

Other items of national equipment have evolved according to different patterns. In respect to railways, none of the Five-Year-Plans has been even approximately fulfilled, and the present-day network (60,000 miles) is incomparably smaller than that which could have been expected to exist by 1925 if the ten-year plan of the Imperial government had materialized. In consequence, the system has to carry three-quarters as much as the freight traffic of the railroads of the United States on about one-sixth of the track mileage.

As a counterpart, post-Revolutionary Russia possesses a large system of airways and produces around 400,000 automobiles a year, whereas pre-Revolutionary Russia did not possess any airline and had only 8,000 cars. But airlines belong to postwar achievements throughout the civilized world, as does the diffusion of the "automobile civilization" throughout Europe. No definite comparative judgment is possible, but to put automobiles and airlines on the credit side of the Revolution is obviously wrong. The same applies to tractors of which there were nearly one million at the outbreak of the war, compared to a few thousands before the Revolution. By the way, the mechanization of agriculture has hardly compensated the country for the loss of half her horses (31.7 million in 1913, 17.5 mil-

* This is shown on Chart XI.

lion in 1938). In the course of this war, mechanization has proved to be of dubious value, by making agriculture in the richest provinces of Russia dependent on oil supply (so badly needed for the war effort) and on transportation. Had Hitler succeeded at Stalingrad, not to speak of the occupation of Baku, half of Russia's agricultural production would have been forced to stop.



XI. PRODUCTION OF COAL, CAST IRON AND OIL

On the semilogarithmic graph, equal intervals of the vertical axis correspond to equal geometric rates of change, while on the horizontal axis equal intervals represent equal durations of time. In consequence, a straight line represents constant geometric change of a variable.

An additional item in the national equipment which has fared rather badly is housing. There is unanimity among the recent observers of Russia that the Russian cities are incredibly overcrowded and that the Russian workers often have to live in subhuman conditions.[8] Despite feverish building activity Russian workers, not to speak of intellectuals, have less living room per capita at their disposal than they had before the revolution. This shortcoming is all the worse since, once more

according to the unanimous opinion of recent reporters, the new buildings are very poor and display signs of decay a few years after their erection. In 1935, one of the members of the Political Bureau said: "If you pay a visit to a workingman's flat, your first impression is that it is not bad at all. But when you get a little more inquisitive, you notice that the doors do not close, the window frames are poorly adjusted, and the glass in them is poor."[9] The standard of the building industry has not improved since then. "Nearly all the new buildings," says a recent observer, "are already showing defects. Doors do not work, walls are beginning to crack, elements of masonry have fallen down from the main structure."[10] Another reports of "big buildings, on which plaster was cracked or from which it had fallen, in a state of apparent neglect and disrepair,"[11] despite signs boasting that the buildings were erected in 1937 or 1938. Therefore, not only must additional buildings be built, but those of which the five-year-planners are so proud must be replaced in the near future.

Meanwhile the dwelling space in towns, in ratio of the population, has steadily declined. It was 5.8 square meters per person in 1923, 5.7 in 1928, 4.7 in 1932 and 4.0 in 1937. In the course of the year 1940, only 250,000 square meters of dwelling space were built in the RSFSR, though about one million men migrated to the cities.[12] "Most single people and small families have to share apartments with other families, bathrooms, kitchens, and dining rooms being used in common."[13] The terrible overcrowding in cities and the unhygienic conditions of life there are only partly compensated by the fact that only about four per cent of the worker's income is spent for rent: European and especially American workers would spend even a smaller percentage of their incomes for similar accommodations.

To sum up the economic achievements of the Communist Revolution, it may be said that: (1) heavy industry has advanced according to expectations, but with an unequal and unsound distribution in time; (2) the advance in light industry, railways, and housing has lagged behind these expectations;

(3) the food supply is nearly up to the same expectations; (4) the mechanization of agriculture is a dubious advantage; (5) no paradise on earth, foreseen by the blueprint, has emerged from the Communist Revolution.

In addition to this, the "anarchy of capitalist production" has not been overcome, but simply replaced by recurrent blunders of the planners and executors of the plan. Never have people wasted more energy and raw materials by starting anew to work on a plan three or more times before possessing a final blueprint, or by producing mountains of wrecked commodities, than they did in Russia in the early 'thirties.

In the later 'thirties this chaos was somewhat mitigated, but has not yet been overcome. Thus, in 1938, 15 per cent of the coal output as well as one million tons of ferrous metals were lost en route from the mines to the furnaces. In 1939, the following story was told. The Krym preserve trust sold to the Minsk preserve trust several hundred tons of canned tomatoes. The Minsk trust sold the commodity to the Gomel retail trust; the latter sold it to the Krym trade office. Thus, a full trainload of tomatoes traveled from Simferopol to Minsk and back to Simferopol.[14]

In 1941, the following story appeared in the leading Soviet paper: in the outskirts of Odessa there are special railroad yards for the reconditioning of tank cars which are supposed to arrive empty. But they do not, because the consumers (Soviet agencies of the region between Rostov and Odessa) often fail to call for the merchandise addressed to them. Since the tanks ought to be empty, the yard management ordered that oil found in the cars be dumped below the hill. Whole lakes of crude oil, gasoline, and so on were formed beside the yard. Citizens came daily from the nearby streets and took home as much of the mixture as they could carry in pails.[15] At the same time serious oil shortages developed in many parts of Russia, owing to the delivery of oil to Germany in fulfillment of the agreement of 1939.

The final judgment about planned economy as practised in the USSR is this: never has there been a less harmonious economic system than that created according to the famous plans. To be convinced of this, one does not have to apply any foreign yardstick to the system in question, but merely compare the achievements with the plans, especially the first one; what they expected and recommended was harmonious and rational advance, securing the complete integration of parts into the whole; enormous departures, sometimes meaning acceleration, sometimes retardation, sometimes substitution and modification, made the results bear almost no resemblance to the blueprint. The art of rationalizing the economic machinery has not yet been invented, whereas the existence of such an art was one of the fundamental premises of the whole enterprise.

In this enterprise, the collectivization of the means of production was conceived not only as a means of producing plenty, but also as a means of creating social justice through the abolition of classes and the materialization of socioeconomic equality. To what extent did the new rulers succeed in this direction?

We have already found the answer to this question (Chapter X). The rise of a new social class, consisting of high-ranking Communists and persons whom Stalin has designated as "non-Party Bolsheviks" is imminent. This signifies the complete disruption of one of the fundamental aspects of the original blueprint and the return of Russia to a situation which would have obtained if no revolution had occurred. As usually happens in revolution, the distribution of individuals among social classes has been strongly affected, but despite the revolution, social classes have persisted.

Neither is there equality within the labor class: the wage differential between the upper and lower strata of this class is now as large as in capitalist society. Whether real wages have increased is a highly controversial question. It is rather probable that they have not. According to excellent authorities, in 1936 the average industrial wage was about eight times higher than the wage of 1931, but retail prices were fifteen to twenty times higher than prewar prices. In consequence, the number of "provision baskets" which could be bought by the wages of the average worker was 3.7 in 1913, 5.6 in 1928, 2.1 in 1935,

and 2.6 in 1937.[16] But even if the wages had increased, let us not forget that in pre-Revolutionary Russia wages were increasing, and without revolution they probably would have continued to increase, as they did between the two world wars in industrial societies. But in any case, Labor has lost the rudiments of organization which it possessed in pre-Revolutionary society and lost also the prospect of acquiring the role of one of the main social forces which belongs to it in industrially advanced societies. On the other hand, Labor has gained security; unemployment no longer exists and is hardly likely to return for a long time to come. Social insurance covers all the other risks involved in industrial activity, such as sickness, invalidism, maternity, old age, and so on. This is one of the real achievements of the revolution, and very probably that degree of security would not have been obtained on the background of "capitalist" development. It is noteworthy that only industrial labor, not the peasants transformed into workers in agricultural enterprises of the State, have gained in this regard. Members of collective farms continue to depend on the fluctuations of harvests, and in case of bad harvests, the Communist government applies no other measures than those which, under similar conditions, were applied in Imperial Russia after the hunger catastrophe of 1891; loans in kind (seed, food, and fodder) formed their central part. It is also noteworthy that, under the new social order, two unprecedented demographic catastrophes occurred in Russia, one in 1921–22, another in 1932–33; the cost of each is measured in millions of human lives.

The two catastrophes did not, however, check the general trend in the population movement. After the catastrophes, the increase was resumed and so accelerated that, in 1939, the population reached the figure of 170 million, a little below the figure which would have been reached if the pre-Revolutionary ratio of increase had never been interrupted. The level of urbanization (33%) has surpassed expectation.

Public health has improved significantly: the death rate, especially the infant mortality rate has substantially declined,

which permitted the population to grow despite the decline of the birth rate. This is largely due to the magnificent expansion of the network of "socialized medicine." But was not old Russia, as represented by her *Zemstvos*, the inventor of the system?[17]

The people of a country are the bearers of culture and also the object of cultural efforts of the *élite*. In backward countries, to which Russia quite definitely belonged and continues to belong, the main cultural effort aims at endowing all members of the national community with elementary education. In this regard, the Communist government is very proud of having overcome the secular illiteracy of Russia. The census of 1939 has shown that 81% of persons above the age of 10 could read and write, and that half of the illiterate persons belonged to the older age groups (above 50). This is, however, just one of the phases of sociocultural life where the imputation of an achievement to the Revolution is obviously wrong: without the Revolution, the index of literacy would have been 78% in 1939, a figure only slightly below the actual one; moreover, universal school education would have been reached quite a few years earlier. Thus, in our day, two curves have reached the same point: the curve of the actual indices and the curve of the hypothetical indices calculated on the assumption that the development continued with the same velocity which the process had reached early in the twentieth century.

By now, Russia has accomplished a historical task, the importance of which was recognized back in the 'sixties of the nineteenth century. No revolution was necessary to accomplish it: the enemy, i.e., illiteracy, was retreating long before its outbreak and would have been beaten without revolution, approximately at the same time when it actually was defeated—through the Revolution or perhaps despite the Revolution.

As concerns secondary and higher education, comparison is very difficult. It is noteworthy that, after the failure of the pedagogical experiments of 1923–32, the Communists drastically reversed their policy and, in general, restored the school system which had prevailed in the 'eighties of the nineteenth

century. This is especially the case relating to school discipline and, in general, internal order, whereas the curriculum now strikingly resembles that of the last few years before the Revolution.

Among cultural activities of the higher level, natural and technical sciences have prospered; a large number of important contributions have been made by Russian scholars. Up to the present time, however, scholars who were famous before the Revolution or at least graduated from institutions of higher learning before then are still on the top, and it remains to be seen what the contribution will be of that generation which was the object of pedagogical experiments up to 1931.

On the other hand, the humanities in the broadest meaning of the term have suffered severely by the imposition on them of the official doctrine of Marxism. No great work in philosophy, history, economics, law, or government has appeared in the course of the twenty-five years; how could they, since a great work is necessarily a piece of independent thinking which could not be tolerated in the framework of a totalitarian dictatorship? In some specialized fields, namely, in that of law, a very curious phenomenon can be observed. What Soviet lawyers have to say about the law is now, after 1936, very much like what German Hegelians said sixty or eighty years ago. Thus, for instance, in criminal law punishment is once more conceived as retribution or retaliation for crime, and the sociological approach to crime which dominated in Russia since the early twentieth century up to 1936 is now declared to be one of the contemptible "petty bourgeois deviations" from Marxist orthodoxy.

The cause is clear: the "central theme" * of contemporary Soviet culture is the Marxist theory created one hundred years ago. Consistent efforts to focus the scientific thought on that theory have naturally resulted in the amazing "reaction" just mentioned. It is hard to say whether this "reaction" corresponds to the Communist blueprint; but one may assert that

* Which, according to Sorokin, determines the main phases of culture within the cultural "super-system."

nothing of that kind would have happened if the humanities had developed according to the pre-Revolutionary trends.

Similar statements must be made concerning art and literature. No great monument, sculpture, or picture has been engendered by the revolution; today, in painting, the style of the 1880's prevails, and in architecture the "Empire" style of the 1820's. In literature, quite a few good works have appeared during the periods of relaxation (1922–27, and after 1936); but as a whole literature very obviously suffers from the necessity of being "produced" in an imposed style, today that of socialist realism. The great richness of schools and nuances which characterized pre-Revolutionary Russia is gone as the result of Communist interference with culture.

Finally, what has happened to the family and religion, the two great guardians of culture? After many tribulations, the new rulers were compelled to restore the ideal of the stable family, in direct contrast to their blueprint. After the failure of persistent efforts to uproot religion, the Communists had to look for a compromise with it on the basis of a partial reformulation of their creed. The Revolution has severed the ties between the State and the Established Church, which probably would have occurred without revolution through the gradual liberalization of political institutions. The sufferings inflicted by the Revolution have purified the Orthodox Church; this is an advantage; but very probably, without the Revolution, acute atheism or religious indifferentism among the younger generation of our day would not have obtained the "successes" which are undeniable. Whereas the Communist blueprint has proven a complete failure in regard to the family, and the historical tradition has prevailed, in regard to religion the blueprint has materialized, say, about 50 per cent.

5

On the basis of the preceding survey, the following generalizations are permissible:

1. In regard to many important phases of sociocultural life,

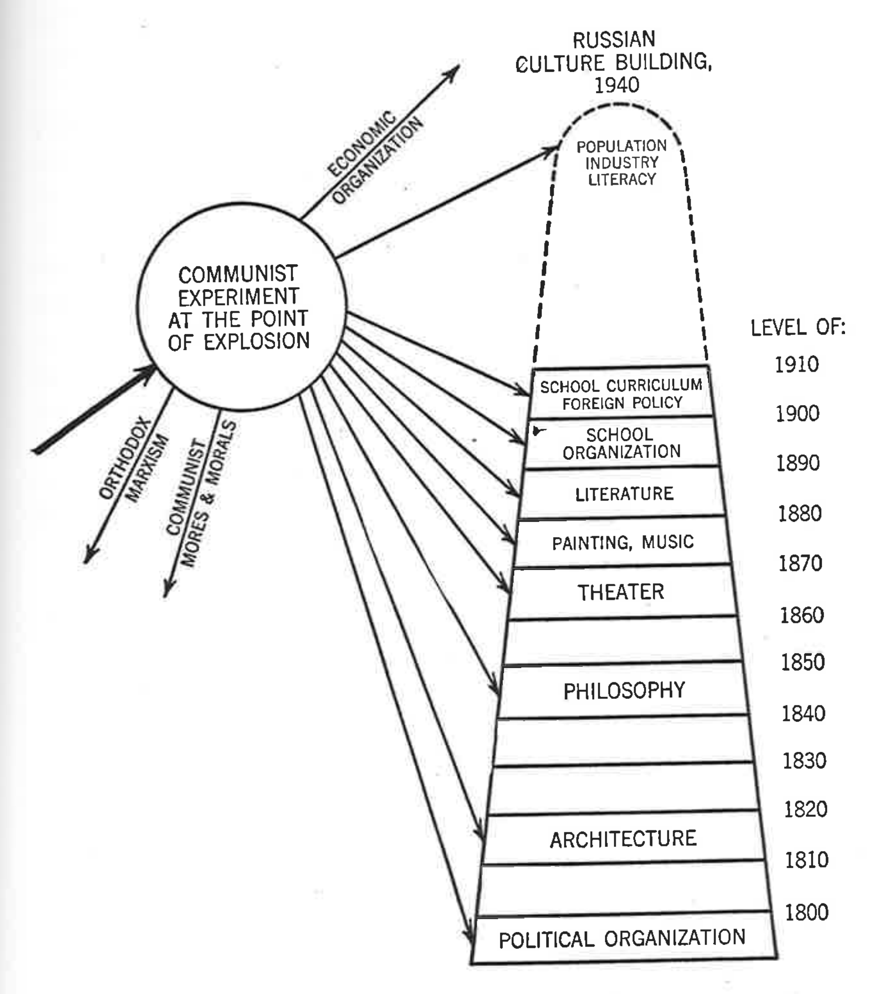
twenty-five years after the Communist Revolution Russia was approximately where she would have been if no revolution had occurred. Russia continues to exist as a State; the population of this State is almost exactly the same as could have been expected without revolution; this population possesses that industrial equipment which could have been foreseen twenty-five years ago; the struggle against illiteracy is near termination, but it also accords with pre-Revolutionary expectations.

2. But as concerns political organization, Russia has been thrown back at least a century; her philosophy is that of the middle of the nineteenth century; her school system repeats that of "the dark age" of the 'eighties of the nineteenth century. Light industry and railways lag behind pre-Revolutionary expectation. Her creative capacity in the highest aspects of culture has been very definitely crippled through the imposition of a "managed culture." In painting, let us repeat, she is back to the 'eighties of the nineteenth century; in architecture, back to the 'twenties of the same century.*

3. Out of the Communist blueprint, the collectivization of production and exchange has been completely realized; religion has been shaken, but by no means uprooted. The country is endowed with heavy industry and has overcome her illiteracy; but in these respects the blueprint did not differ from the historical trend. In other aspects the blueprint has proven a failure. Russia is more nationalistic than ever; social classes and social inequality continue to exist; an economy of plenty has not been created; no grand art or literature has arisen; the family has returned to the stable type; the school is rather "reactionary."

4. The Revolution has produced a new society which is neither that which could have been mentally constructed by projecting the main trends of pre-Revolutionary times into the future, nor that which would have corresponded to the plans of the revolutionary leaders. To a certain extent, this new society may be viewed as a blending of the two models, but ele-

* The results of the breakdown of the Communist Experiment are shown on Chart XII.



XII. THE OUTCOME OF THE COMMUNIST EXPERIMENT

ments are also present which do not fit into either; these are, first of all, elements of "reaction" and, secondly, elements invented in the course of the revolution, mainly as instrumentalities for the achievement of revolutionary ends.

The cause of the departures is clear. As revolutionary leaders usually are Utopians, they do not recognize the natural limitations of human actions and strive for goals which cannot be attained. They succeed best in those phases where they continue historical trends which were temporarily inhibited before the outbreak of a revolution. But to achieve these successes, the nation has to pay a heavy price. Everybody knows that revolution means destruction of human lives, material, and spiritual values. It is less well known that revolution, as shown by the Russian example, may mean retrogression. In any case, revolution is the most expensive mode of social change. Very probably, the cost of the Russian Revolution has been without precedent.

This cost is to be estimated even higher, as the Russian Revolution took place in a society fully conscious of its backwardness and displaying sincere efforts to overcome it. Only to a slight extent was the Communist Revolution launched to eliminate the partial inhibitions which opposed advance; to a much greater extent it was launched to fulfill a "social plan," to create an entirely new society. To take care of this aspect of the Revolution, its balance sheet must include a special account of the original patterns used by the revolutionary leaders and of those which they borrowed from various sources.

The leaders of the Russian Revolution were Marxists and, in their opinion, very orthodox Marxists; no wonder that in their blueprint and the activities based on it, Marxist patterns have prevailed. The idea of abolishing private ownership of the means of production and exchange and of founding a classless society is purely Marxist; of purely Marxist origin also has been the emphasis on internationalism, the implacable fight against religion, the animosity towards the stable, that is, "bourgeois" family.

But before the Revolution Marxist thought was known to be

highly abstract and to avoid any concrete planning of socialist society. Therefore, when the revolutionary leaders had to realize their blueprint, it became immediately apparent that the means to the end had to be either borrowed or invented. Since inventions are not necessarily made any time they are needed, borrowing is often the only possibility. Borrowing was very frequent during the initial phase of the Communist Revolution; under War Communism the German War Economics pattern, highly appreciated by Lenin, was imitated. The pattern of "planned economy" which underlies the Five-Year-Plans was borrowed by Lenin from two "bourgeois" writers. In art and literature, the problem of new patterns was solved by declaring that Futurism was congenial to Communism, a proposition which very soon was refuted by facts. In regard to the schools, "progressive education," especially the Dalton plan, was hastily borrowed and imposed on the absolutely unprepared Russian system, to start the Communist experiment in that field.

There have also been social inventions. More often than not, they must be seen in acts rather than words, for the Communists were never very proud of their inventions. The most important one has been the One-Party system, in which Lenin embodied the vague ideas of the international revolutionary movement of the early twentieth century. This invention has given rise to a social structure which probably will persist as long as the political system created in November, 1917, lasts. And this is an invention which has received widespread appreciation outside of Russia; structurally, the Fascist Party in Italy and the National Socialist Party in Germany were exact counterparts of the Russian Communist Party, as well as the "ruling parties" in minor dictatorships and the Communist and Fascist movements which have struggled for power in democracies.

Another original invention has been that of the Soviet State, developing the rudimentary representation of the Labor class tried out by Russian revolutionists in the course of the abortive Revolution of 1905–6. The Soviet State, based on the ideas of (1) representing the toilers only, (2) organizing elections

on the basis of labor units, (3) emphasizing the sovereignty of local bodies, and (4) creating the central political bodies out of representatives of the local ones, was embodied in the Soviet Constitution from 1918 to 1936. In that year, it received a deadly blow from the Stalin Constitution which preserved only the name, but not the principles of the Soviet State.

A third invention can be seen in the "Two Sectors Economy" of the NEP period, leaving the "key positions" in the hands of the rulers and returning the rest of economic activity to "private masters" from whom they had been expropriated under War Communism. In Russia, this structure was destroyed by the shift to the Five-Year-Plans-policy. Outside of Russia, it has impressed the Socialists very much; the de-Man *Plan du travail* * is a very strict imitation of the Russian pattern of 1921–8.

Finally, the principle of managed culture is also one of the social inventions of the leaders of Russian Communism, an invention amply used by the National Socialists in Germany. Just as that of the "One-Party," the principle of managed culture has persisted and obviously will persist as long as the political regime does; as has already been mentioned, it has found entrance into Fascist and National Socialist Society.

A few minor inventions could be added to the list, such as (1) uninterrupted work, (2) socialist emulation, (3) the commercialization of the revolution and, (4) the cultural strangulation of religion, i.e., the prohibition of any social, cultural, or charitable activity on the part of religious bodies. Nos. 1 and 2 proved to be failures and were abandoned with the Second Socialist Offensive. No. 4 was one of the most notorious phases of religious persecution and was discontinued (perhaps not entirely) under the New Religious Policy. No. 3 has survived and has become one of the pillars of neo-Communist society. But the Communists are not proud of this invention and conceal it under the inconspicuous term of "the turnover tax."

There is no need to evaluate the basic four inventions. Two

* A comprehensive plan of social reconstruction elaborated by the Belgian Socialist, Henri de-Man, in 1933. The plan has been endorsed by the French Socialists and by the British Labor Party.

of them, the Soviet system and the Two Sectors Economy, have proven to be unworkable or, more exactly, incompatible with dictatorship, and have been abandoned in Russia. Two others, the One-Party system and managed culture, have become essential parts of any totalitarian structure. Their location in the value system is thus clearly established.

Such is the meager and rather negative contribution of the Russian revolution to the human treasury of social patterns. This special balance sheet does not, therefore, offer any reason for changing anything in the judgments previously made when comparing the achievements of the Communist Revolution with pre-Revolutionary expectations.

6

If the achievements and contributions of the Communist Revolution in Russia have been so meager, for what did the Russians fight? Why did the Russians display that indomitable will to resist and survive which seems to have been absent in a number of more advanced nations of Europe? Does not the fact of this resistance, of this will to gain victory, invalidate the previous deductions?

These facts do not contradict the judgments above at all if both the facts and the judgments are correctly interpreted.

1. In the conceptual scheme used in this discussion, the statement that the Russian Revolution has been rather poor in valuable accomplishments is not identical with the statement that the Russia of 1941–3 has not changed as compared with the Russia of 1914. The Russia of our day is much better educated and much better equipped economically than the Russia which fought in World War I; but in these improvements Russia's *élan vital* has been manifested; in other words, under the revolution deeds have been accomplished which might have been effected without revolution.

2. The social environment for the maintenance of which the Russians fought is only partly determined by the Communist plan of social reconstruction. Russia entered this war after

seven years of retreat from integral Communism, after a far-reaching restoration of national tradition had taken place. The Russians of 1941–4, in contrast to the Russians of 1918–33, were not only permitted but encouraged to be proud of their culture and history. They fought for their own home, the value of which has been once more officially recognized, and not for an imaginary World Home of the Proletariat which they were unsuccessfully invited to love up to 1933. The very character of official propaganda throughout the years of war testifies to this fact: Russia came first, and the International Communist Revolution was never mentioned; very probably, the dissolution of the Comintern (May 22, 1943) has been hailed in Russia as enthusiastically as among Russia's allies.

The significance of the return to national values as the background of resistance is enhanced by the particular configuration of the conflict in which Russia was involved. Whereas in previous wars the point at issue was a claim on some province or sphere of influence, in this war Russia's foe denied the value of Russian culture and even the right of the Russian people to continue living in areas occupied by them for one thousand years. Acts of the enemy, especially the systematic killing of the inhabitants and the systematic demolition of monuments of Russian culture in the occupied provinces, have proven that he meant business. The Communist leaders, being acknowledged masters of propaganda, have skillfully used these facts to bring Russian morale to the highest possible level, the same level which was reached, say, in 1812: officially, this war was called "The Second Patriotic War."

It is very probable that in this war many Russians fought not only for their country as such, but also for the New Order in its totality, holding that it was the best in the world, or at least the most convenient for them; others may have fought for the maintenance of substantial parts of this order, though desiring changes in other parts; still others may have fought despite the rejection of the basic premises of the New Order—such as, for instance, official atheism. This divergence of views did not prevent the Russians from forming a sacred union, for

they all knew what the victory of the enemy would mean. Even those who did not accept the New Order felt that it was possible to improve it, if Russia were to continue to exist as an independent nation; and they knew that there was no hope whatsoever if Russia's future were to be dictated by the Nazis.

The Russians fought for their home, which is largely the expansion of their old home with slight modifications introduced by Communist architects. It is not quite certain that they would have displayed the same stubbornness and will to victory if the Communist architects had been permitted to reconstruct the old building fully.

3. It must be emphasized finally that people are accustomed to act much more on the basis of short than long perspectives. In other words, their attitudes are much more determined by the comparison of today with yesterday than with the day before yesterday. In contemporary Russia, people no longer think of pre-Revolutionary times and possibilities; but they know very well that, economically and culturally, they are much better off today than they were in 1933. To take an example: the religious situation is still far from religious freedom; but in 1939, a new religious policy was started which was substantially accentuated after the outbreak of the war. Religious-minded people could not fail to be influenced by obvious improvement and were willing to obey the directions of the Church leadership to support the government in the struggle for the preservation of Russia's independence.

Thus it appears that the magnificent war performance of the Russian nation does not contradict our judgments about the Russian Revolution. It is very possible that a large number of Russians would like substantial change in many phases of the existing order. But they understand that first things must come first: to secure national independence is the first thing, and getting rid of obsolete survivals of Communism can follow after victory.

In this war, Russia has proven by deeds her right to be one of the Big Three among the United Nations. But she had to prove it against the dominant expectation that her strength had

been badly undermined through the Revolution. Russia's part in the war has shown that, in her history, the Communist Revolution had been a dangerous sickness, but that Russia possessed enough vital energy to overcome it. At the outbreak of this war she was obviously recovering from it. Whether a new challenge, this time in the form of a titanic war, will accelerate the recovery or be conducive to a relapse, we do not yet know.

Chapter XIV

LOOKING FORWARD:
Russia in the Postwar World

1

The Russians have fought magnificently for their home; as has been shown in the preceding chapter, this was their old home with modifications introduced by Communist architects. Does this not mean that now, when war is over, they will be satisfied with repairing their home and will consequently neither demand nor permit any change? For many reasons, this is highly improbable.

First of all, war with Germany started in the course of a major social process which was going on in Russia—the fusion into an organic whole of those elements of the past which were strong enough to survive the revolutionary disturbance, with those elements brought into existence by the Revolution which were strong enough to resist the mighty pressure of reviving Tradition. The termination of a revolutionary cycle is always a compromise between old and new. The level of the compromise is, however, not determined in advance. There is, therefore, no reason to assume that the compromise situation which existed in 1941 would become the final solution. On the contrary, many events which took place after the outbreak of the war make this rather improbable. The Communist International was dissolved, the International replaced by a new national anthem, divorce almost abolished, coeducation in schools dropped and, last but not least, a Patriarch was once more heading the Russian Orthodox Church. Thus, for defense and victory further departures from Communist Utopia to-

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

To avoid a tedious repetition of transliterated Russian words, the titles of Russian newspapers (to which more than incidental references have been made) have been replaced by the following symbols:

I. *Izvestia* (News, official paper of the Soviet government).

K.G. *Krasnaya Gazeta* (The Red Paper, evening paper appearing in Leningrad).

K.P. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (The Truth of the Comsomol, official paper of the Young Communist League).

K.Z. *Krasnaya Zvezda* (The Red Star, official paper of the Red Army).

N.R.S. *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (Russian daily published in New York; it often reprints material from Soviet papers).

P. *Pravda* (The Truth, official paper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party).

S.Z. *Sotsialisticheskoye Zemledelye* (Socialist Agriculture, daily paper of the Commissariat of Agriculture).

U.G. *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (The Teacher's Paper, daily paper of the Commissariat for Education).

V.M. *Vechernyaya Moskva* (Evening Moscow, an evening paper appearing in Moscow).

Z.K.P. *Za Kommunisticheskoye Prosveschenie* (For Communist Education, official paper of the Commissariat for Education).

When Russian titles have been translated, the symbol (R.) appears.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

1. An occasional footnote in Marx's works pointing to the alleged affinity between the *mir* structure and socialism was often cited by the Russian Marxists.
2. The idea often appears in the works of the great Russian philosopher, N. Berdyayev, especially in *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1936).

CHAPTER II

1. This is approximately the official Communist doctrine inculcated into foreign visitors lacking knowledge of the historical background of the situation they observe. Similar "information" on Russia, except the statement on the role of the Communists, was given to foreigners by Russian revolutionists prior to the Revolution. Since then many of the latter have completely changed heart.
2. Paul N. Miliukoff, *Outlines of Russian Culture* (1942), vol. 3, p. 73.
3. F. Engels, *On the State of the Labor Class in England* (in German, 1848).
4. In 1911, 67% of the population of Portugal was illiterate.
5. For more specific reasons of the early blossoming of Kievan Russia cf. Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (1925).
6. Says Harry Best: "The liberty of those who tilled the soil did not proceed far." (*The Soviet Experiment*, 1941, p. 15.)
7. This error often recurred in Lloyd George's speeches about the time when diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia were resumed.
8. Cf. A. N. Antsiferoff and others, "Russian Agriculture During the War," in *Economic and Social History of the War*, 1930.
9. Land which peasants bought from landlords after the Emancipation Act was not subject to the *mir* legislation and became their private property. On the *mir*, see *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin (1930).

10. *Op. cit., supra*, note 8. On Stolypin's agrarian reform see N. Karpov, *The Agrarian Policy of Stolypin* (R. 1925); Gregory A. Pavlovski, *Agrarian Russia on the Eve of the Revolution*, 1930; Geroid T. Robinson, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime*, 1932.
11. Antsiferoff and others, *op. cit., supra*, note 8. Also S. N. Prokopowicz, *An Essay on the National Income of Russia* (R. 1918).
12. Figures for 1895 have been borrowed from *The Productive Forces of Russia*, a symposium published by the Ministry of Finances (R. 1896). Figures for 1916 are based on the findings of the agricultural census of that year.
13. Figures for 1863 and 1888 are derived from D. Mendeleyev, *The Tariff Explained* (R. 1891–2). Figures for 1913 are taken from the official reports of the Ministry of Trade and Industry.
14. Manya Gordon, *Russian Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941), p. 347.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.
16. After the Revolution of 1905-6, the formerly usual eleven-and-a-half hour labor day rapidly disappeared. About the time of the outbreak of the war, Russian workers labored on the average of 9.6 hours for 270 days a year. From 1900 to 1913, the nominal wages increased by 54%; after correction for the increase in living costs, an increase of real wages by 15% is left (Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69).
17. Prokopowicz, *op. cit., supra*, note 10. In this work, the national income of European Russia proper is estimated, omitting from consideration Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia and the Central Asiatic possessions.
18. In 1914, the population of Russia was officially estimated to be 178 million. Later on, outstanding statisticians showed that this estimate was grossly exaggerated. Cf. S. N. Prokopowicz, *Bulletin of the Russian Economic Institute in Prague*, No. 80 (R. 1930), and Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem* (1932), pp. 18-19.
19. Expanded by the laws of June 10, 1909, and June 14, 1910. On these laws cf. D. M. Odinets, "Russian Primary and Secondary Schools During the War," in *Economic and Social History of the War* (1930), and Count Paul N. Ignatieff in *Russia, USSR* (1933), p. 654 (ed. by Petr Malevski-Malevich).
20. A. Ch. "The Enactment of the Laws on Universal Education," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Yustitsii*, September, 1910. From 8.8 million rubles in 1906, the expenditure for public education rose to 72.3 million in 1916.
21. The procedure used by the present writer to reach the estimate

in the text is described in his article, "Overcoming Illiteracy," *Russian Review,* Autumn, 1942. After the publication of that paper, a book published in Moscow in 1940 reached the author; there, the index is given as having been 38-39%, but no reasons behind the estimate are communicated (A. G. Rashin, *The Growth of the Russian Proletariat,* R. 1940, p. 420).
22. Rashin, *op. cit.,* pp. 420 and 430.
23. Ingatieff, *op. cit., supra,* note 19, p. 662.
24. On this change see B. Noldé, *L'ancien régime et la révolution russe,* 1928, p. 92.
25. The diagnosis in text coincides in general with that of George Vernadski, *Lenin* (1931), p. 1; Michael T. Florinski, *The End of the Russian Empire* (1931), pp. 23-24; Waldemar Gurian, *Bolshevism* (1931), pp. 23-24; and Manya Gordon, *op. cit., supra,* note 14, pp. 64, 345, and 360.

CHAPTER III

1. The "legal blindness" of the Russian *intelligentsia* has been masterfully analyzed by B. Kistiakovski, *The Social Sciences and Law* (R. 1915).
2. On these doctrines see Julius F. Hecker, *Russian Sociology* (1915).
3. Several private guesses went farther in the description of the society of the future, but they were never endorsed by the Socialist parties of the different states. Among such descriptions, August Bebel's *Women and Socialism* was very much read in Russia.
4. Especially A. Chekhov's novels and short stories.
5. To use terms coined by Vilfredo Pareto in his *General Treatise on Sociology* (1915); English translation entitled *Mind and Society* (1936).
6. In one of his latest works, Lenin gave a very clear account of the reasons of his dispute with the Mensheviks. The work is significantly entitled, *On the History of the Problem of Dictatorship* (*Collected Works,* R. vol. 23, pp. 422 ff.).
7. *On the Social Ideal* (R. 1911). This is the best critical discussion of Marxism and Anarchism available in any language. It should be translated into English.
8. Cf. Gaudens Megaro, *Mussolini in the Making* (1938).
9. Lenin and Zinovyev, "Socialism and War" (Lenin's *Collected Works,* R. vol. 18).
10. *The State and the Revolution,* pp. 74, 82. Quoted by permission of International Publishers.

11. Karl Marx, *Amsterdam Speech,* 1872.
12. Lenin, *op. cit., supra,* note 10, p. 26.
13. *Ibid.,* pp. 20, 74.
14. The most complete presentation of this phase of Lenin's political doctrine is to be found in his paper, "The October Revolution," (*Coll. Works,* R. vol. 24, pp. 639 ff.).
15. On the activity of Lenin and the Bolsheviks between the two revolutions see Manya Gordon, *Russian Workers Before and After Lenin,* 1931, pp. 50 and 61.
16. However, the Socialist Revolutionists were still more debunked, since it was divulged that one of the members of their Central Committee, Aseff, was simultaneously a member of the Imperial Secret Police. For a fascinating account of his story see Boris I. Nikolayevsky, *Aseff, The Spy* (1939).

CHAPTER IV

1. The theory of the revolutionary process applied in this chapter is based on the study of about one thousand major and minor revolutionary movements carried out by the author when preparing material for Chapters XII-XIV, vol. 3, of P. A. Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937). In a more complete form the theory appears in the author's paper, "Revolution and Competition for Power," *Thought,* vol. 18, pp. 435 ff.
2. P. Sorokin, *op. cit.,* vol. 3, pp. 498-99.
3. This is a procedure called "mental experiment"; it is commended by Max Weber and Robert MacIver (*Social Causation,* 1942, pp. 179-180).
4. For instance, David J. Dallin, *Russia and Postwar Europe* (1943), pp. 168-170. It is impossible to prove a negative statement. However, the publication of the Russian archives by the Communists did not substantiate the allegation that a War Party existed in Russia in 1914.
5. The retrogressive process in Russia's political structure in the course of the war is well described by B. Noldé, *L'ancien régime et la révolution russe* (1928), pp. 105-109.
6. The sequence of events is well described by Michael T. Florinski, *The End of the Russian Empire* (1931), pp. 69 ff.
7. Florinski, *op. cit.,* pp. 207 ff., 221 ff. *Contra* D. Fedotoff-White, *The Growth of the Red Army* (1944), pp. 3 ff.
8. Cf. E. Ludendorff, *Meine Kriegserinnerungen* (1919), vol. 2, p. 240.
9. That the revolution was not inevitable is the main idea of Sir Bernard Pares in *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (1939).

10. Lenin, "Imperialism the Latest Phase of Capitalism" (*Collected Works,* R. vol. 19), and N. Bukharin, *The ABC of Communism* (R. 1922).
11. In 1912, 5.4 million *kustari* supplemented the work of approximately three million industrial workers (Manya Gordon, *Russian Workers Before and After Lenin,* 1941, p. 356).
12. Leo Trotsky, *Revolution Betrayed* (1937), p. 6. Quoted by permission of Pioneer Publishers.
13. Reproduced from N. S. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia* (1942). Quoted by permission of Sheed and Ward, publishers.
14. Same source as in note 13.
15. More than one hundred years before the Revolution of 1917, Pushkin predicted that in Russia a revolution could not be anything but a "senseless and pitiless revolt." An amazingly correct prophecy on the character of the revolutionary leadership was made by Dostoevski in *The Possessed.*

CHAPTER V

1. At the XI Congress of the Party, Zinovyev declared that the freedom of the press (in the "capitalist" interpretation) would signify the end of the "workers'" party and the beginning of counterrevolution (*Proceedings,* R. p. 352). In an article which appeared in *War and the Working Class,* January, 1945, the official view that "genuine liberty of the press" was granted to Soviet citizens, but denied to the citizens of democratic countries, was once more expressed.
2. In 1926, all the 120,000 Communists living in the countryside were elected to the rural Soviets (*The Party in Figures,* R. 1925–6).
3. I. 1927, No. 50.
4. In 1926, the average number of days when a rural Soviet was in session was 5.8 per year (Murugov and Kolesnikov, *The Apparatus of the Local Soviets,* R. 1926, p. 44).
5. Lenin, *The State and the Revolution,* p. 96.
6. Compiled from statements by Kamenev, Bukharin, and Trotsky at the IX and X Party Congress (1920 and 1921).
7. Lenin, *Collected Works* (R. vol. 26, p. 348, and vol. 27, p. 280); Zinovyev in P., May 12, 1923.
8. Here are a few figures about the size of the Party: 312,000 in 1919; 733,000 in 1921; 386,000 in 1923; 772,000 in 1925; 1,130,000 in 1927; 1,872,000 in 1934. All these figures appeared in the Proceedings of the Party Congresses of the corresponding years.

9. The supervising function of the Party has been carefully elaborated in the revised statute of 1939.
10. At the X Congress, it was said that the cells had only duties, but no rights; that they carried out all that was ordered, but never displayed initiative (*Proceedings,* R. p. 172). Here are a few quotations from other Party Congresses: "Problems of highest importance have been decided, and the Party was unaware of it" (*Proceedings of the VIII Congress,* R. p. 950). "The party center displays the tendency to kill every initiative" (*Proceedings of the IX Congress,* R. p. 52). "If somebody criticizes the policy of the center, he is dismissed" (*Proceedings of the XII Congress,* R. p. 113).
11. Zinovyev said about the first Party leader: "If there was some dissent in the Party, this did not make any trouble, for everybody knew that there was one man entitled to speak in the name of the Party, his words representing the Party's opinion; this man was Lenin" (*Proceedings of the XII Congress of the Communist Party of Russia,* R. p. 46).
12. *Under the Banner of Marxism,* 1939, No. 2.
13. "Soviet Russia's New Deal," *The Nation,* November 21, 1936, p. 356. With slight changes, the article has reappeared in Sidney and Beatrice Webb's, *The Truth About Russia* (1942).
14. I. Feb. 7, 1935.
15. I. Nov. 24, 1936.
16. *Vlast Sovietov,* 1936, No. 15, p. 19.
17. P. June 5, 1936.
18. Dec. 3, 1936.
19. Nov. 26, 1936.
20. Cf. Lenin's *Collected Works* (R.), vol. 27, p. 26.
21. This latter view has been especially emphasized by S. and B. Webb, *Soviet Communism* (1935), vol. I, pp. 449-451.
22. Cf., for instance, *Vlast Sovietov,* 1936. No. 13, pp. 9-10; No. 14, p. 3; *Sovietskoie Stroitelstvo,* 1936, No. 8, p. 7. Cf. Stalin's speech, Nov. 26, 1936.
23. Kalinin, *Vlast Sovietov,* 1936, No. 15.
24. This seems to have been the idea of Stalin when the Constitution was drafted. In an interview with Mr. Roy W. Howard he said that he expected an acute electoral struggle around candidates nominated by different organizations, and expressed the hope that this would increase the efficiency of the boards depending on the Soviets (I. March 5, 1936). This idea has been abandoned. The shift was called "a surprising fact" by the well-

informed Moscow correspondent of the New York *Times* (Nov. 25, 1936).
25. "Soviet Russia's New Deal," *The Nation*, Nov. 21, 1936, p. 598.
26. *Bulletin of the Laws of the USSR*, 1939, No. 43, art. 182.
27. I. Oct. 18, 1937.
28. New York *Times*, Dec. 5, 1937.
29. I. Dec. 17, 1937.
30. I. Dec. 15, 1937.
31. I. Aug. 28, 1938.
32. Due to the annexations of the year 1940, to the redistribution of the Soviet territory among provinces, and to the increase in the number of the People's Commissariats.
33. New York *Times*, April 4, 1940.
34. I. Sept. 1, 1939.
35. I. May 28, 1939; the sessions again coincided in April, 1940, and in January, 1944.
36. The Constitution contains clauses concerning the territorial division of the individual republics and the number and functions of the people's commissars; such statements were introduced in order to guarantee some stability in regard to these matters (cf. Stalin's speech, I. November 26, 1936). However, the realization of this aim proved to be beyond the capacities of the rulers; they continually changed the territorial divisions and the number and functions of the commissars.
37. P. March 6, 1937.
38. The statute was published in P. March 27, 1939.
39. To prepare the elections to the 18th Party Congress (February, 1939) the local cells used this procedure: they expelled from the Party all the members they suspected of independence, accusing them of being "enemies of the people." After the selections the indictments were dropped, as based on false denunciations, and the members reinstated in the Party. But meanwhile the elections had been carried out (August 31, 1939).
40. The main puzzle concerning the trials are the famous confessions of the defendants. The best guess is that of William H. Chamberlin in *Soviet Enigma*, 1944, pp. 206 ff. In somewhat modified form, it is this: the defendants were actually guilty of a capital offense, that of having privately expressed their dislike of Stalin's rule and their desire to get rid of him. A man guilty of capital offense may easily be induced to make any statement desired by the prosecution, if leniency is put in view (in Soviet conditions, the promise not to involve the defendant's family is an additional motive). The purpose of the trials was not only to destroy Stalin's virtual competitors, but to vilify their names. Therefore they were ordered to confess to conspiracy with the enemy, the most hateful crime in a country with flaming national sentiment—which Russia already was at about the time of the trials. A few reprieves were granted each time, in order to induce subsequent defendants to indulge in similar confessions.
41. It is noteworthy that the liquidation of the Old Guard was carried out by the same man who, some ten years earlier, had opposed the use of any kind of repression against the opposition. This proves that in the late 'thirties, Stalin was more autocratically-minded than in 1925.
42. P. May 26, 1935; I. June 27, 1935.
43. On this subject, David J. Dallin (*The Real Soviet Russia*, 1944, pp. 186-8) offers a series of telling quotations from books published by recent American observers.

CHAPTER VI

1. The Socialist Revolutionists recognized in the decree the text of an article published in one of their papers. It was replaced by the more elaborate decrees of February 14 and March 11, 1919.
2. Cf. "The Communist Policy towards the Peasant and Food Crisis in the USSR," Birmingham Bureau of Research on Russian Economic Conditions, *Memorandum No. 8*, Birmingham, England, January, 1933; see also B. Brutzkus, "Agrarian Revolution in an Agrarian District," *Economichesky Vestnik* (1925), vol. 3.
3. The main decrees were these: on the nationalization of the banks, December 14, 1917; of the means of water transportation, January 26, 1918; of foreign trade, April 23, 1918; of large scale trade and industry, June 28, 1918; of apartment houses in towns and cities, August 20, 1918; of small scale trade and industry, November 29, 1918.
4. Very illuminating is A. Gurovich, "The Supreme Council of National Economy," *Archives of the Russian Revolution* (R. 1922), vol. 6.
5. Corn levies were inaugurated under the Provisional government, but became oppressive after the Communist Revolution. They increased from year to year; 0.8 million metric tons in 1918, 1.8 in 1919, 3.4 in 1920, and 6.1 in 1921. Cf. A. S. Wainstein, *Rural Taxation before the War and during the Revolution* (R. 1924), p. 63.

6. The most important decrees on denationalization were these: of houses, August 8, 1921; of small scale trade and industry, December 10, 1921.
7. Particularly the German Civil Code of 1900, the Swiss Code of 1907, and the Draft Civil Code for the Russian Empire which was being elaborated when the Revolution broke out.
8. The far-reaching similarity of the agrarian structure, introduced by the Agrarian Code of 1922, to the old structure is proved in detail by C. Zaitsew in his article "Agrarian Law," in *Law of Soviet Russia,* published by N. N. Alexeiev, A. V. Makletsov, and N. S. Timasheff (1925), vol. I, pp. 215-235. (R.; German translation Tübingen, 1925.)
9. Birmingham Bureau of Research, *Memorandum No. 8* (cited above, note 2), p. 10.
10. Cf. Stalin's article in P. June 2, 1928.
11. V. I. Grinevetsky, *Postwar Perspectives of Russian Industry* (R. 1919).
12. The industrial output had to increase from 18.3 billion rubles in 1927–8 to 43.2 in 1932–3; that of agriculture from 16.7 in 1927–8 to 25.8 in 1932–3. The plan years began as of October 1, hence their cumbersome designation.
13. Directions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, December 5, 1929.
14. In the course of World War II the practice of socialist emulation was revived, but in combination with other devices aiming at lifting the productivity of labor.
15. For the following cf. the article of B. Brutzkus, "Hunger and Collectivization," *Sovremennya Zapiski,* vol. 52 (R. 1933), pp. 418-9.
16. For a more detailed account of the early stages of collectivization, see P. A. Sorokin's paper in Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *op. cit.,* vol. 1, pp. 621-34.
17. Thus, for 1939, the plan foresaw an increase of 13.3% in industrial production, a lower ration than for any year after 1929.
18. Gregory Bienstock, Solomon Schwarz, and Aron Yugov, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture* (1944), *passim.* Very good remarks can be found in Wendell Willkie's *One World* (1943), p. 65.
19. I. Dec. 12, 1943.
20. P. May 9, 1939; I. March 9, 1943.
21. P. July 2, 1939; Jan. 24 and 29, 1940.
22. In 1943, 70,000 new local enterprises were created producing

about six billion rubles of consumers' goods per year (V.M. Dec. 20, 1943).
23. I. 1935, No. 62.
24. I. 1935, No. 44.
25. I. Solonevich, in *Sovremennya Zapiski,* vol. 59 (1935), p. 386.
26. In 1938, the *kolhoz* members owned 55.7% of all cows, and the *kolhozes* as collective enterprises only 16.9%; the rest belonged to individual (noncollectivized) farmers and to State farms. In 1937, the homestead plots produced 21.5% of the total agricultural output (*Sotsialisticheskoye Zemledelye,* 1939, p. 87).
27. The surplus was 778,000 ha. (S.Z. Sept. 24, 1939). In addition to this, farms of the Stolypin type continued to exist in large numbers, covering 380,000 ha. in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the western provinces of the RSFSR (I. June 15, 1939).
28. In some regions the minimum was fixed at 60 or 100 days. Those who did not conform had to be expelled from the *kolhoz.* In 1942, the minimum obligation was lifted to 100-120 days (I. April 17, 1942).
29. 452,000 ha. were reintroduced into the collectivized fields. Cf. *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet-Russian Economics,* ed. by S. N. Prokopowicz, No. 6, p. 78.
30. P. June 15, 1939; S.Z. Sept. 17, 1935; I. July 8, 1939.
31. Changes in the remuneration of the *kolhoz* members started on March 1, 1933, when the workday unit first appeared, but it was only in 1935 that the adjustment of remuneration to the services rendered became real. A special decree on the differential compensation of *kolhoz* members was enacted on December 31, 1940.
32. P. March 7, 1936.
33. *Partiinoye Stroitelstvo,* 1941, No. 10; I. March 1, 1943.
34. John Scott, *Duel for Europe* (1942), p. 128. Quoted by permission of Houghton-Mifflin Co., publishers.
35. This right had been conceded in 1932, but was once more denied in 1933.
36. *Poslednya Novosti,* January 19 and 20 and March 11, 1941.
37. The bread price was .09 ruble a kilo in 1928 (State bakeries were then on a nonprofit basis), .125 ruble in 1932, .25 ruble in 1933, .50 ruble in 1934. The price mentioned in the text was introduced simultaneously with the abolition of bread rations.
38. The turnover tax was introduced in 1930, but up to Stalin's inspiration played only a minor part in the Soviet budget. On the present-day rates see Bienstock and others, *op. cit., supra,* note 18, p. 84.

CHAPTER VII

1. Lenin, *Collected Works* (R.), vol. 22, p. 37.
2. *Proceedings of the XIV Congress of the Russian Communist Party* (R. 1926), p. 354.
3. *Proceedings of the XV Congress of the Russian Communist Party* (R. 1927), p. 46.
4. Adapted from Lenin's authentic report, *Collected Works* (R.), vol. 24, pp. 128 and 247.
5. Speech to the Moscow Party officials, May 9, 1925.
6. Nonaggression pacts signed with Germany and Turkey, still under the sign of aggressive internationalism, had the meaning of covert alliances. The pact with Lithuania (1926) was due to the peculiar position of that little country, which saw in the Soviet Union a virtual protector against Poland. The real series began with the pact with Finland (Jan. 21, 1932).
7. *Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Comintern*, July 29, 1929 (R.).
8. *Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the (Red) International of Trade Unions* (R. 1929), p. 583.
9. Letter to Comrade Ivanov, published on February 14, 1938.
10. K.P. Oct. 18, 1934.
11. Z.I. Jan. 25, 1936: P. Apr. 7, 1936; V.M. March 11, 1936.
12. P. Jan. 24, 1937; I. Feb. 28, 1937; K.P. Apr. 18, 1937.
13. P. March 19, 1938.
14. P. Nov. 7, 1938.
15. K.Z. Sept. 8, 1940.
16. *Antireligioznik*, 1939, No. 6.
17. New York *Times*, Nov. 10, 1936.
18. K.Z. March 21, 1938.
19. P. Apr. 28, 1938; I. March 3, 1937; K.G. Oct. 11, 1937.
20. K.Z. Nov. 22, 1938.
21. *Ibid.*
22. U.G. March 25, 1938.
23. K.Z. March 28, 1939; I. Dec. 12, 1942.
24. New York *Herald Tribune*, July 13, 1942. Recently Alexis Tolstoy's dramatized novel entitled *Ivan the Terrible* appeared; a film on the same Tsar has been produced by Eisenstein (I. Aug. 3 and Oct. 6, 1943).
25. I. Aug. 22, 1943.
26. K.Z. 1939, No. 212.
27. K.Z. June 9, 1939; P. July 2, 1939.
28. I. Nov. 12, 1934; V.M. Feb. 25, 1936; P. March 21, 1938; K.Z. Apr. 24, 1938.

29. *Trud* 1938, No. 183; P. Aug. 31, 1938; V.M. June 16, 1939.
30. I. July 3, 1934; Apr. 4 and 17, 1939; P. July 11, 1939.
31. I. March 6, 1937.
32. P. June 18, 1939.
33. New York *Herald Tribune*, July 13, 1942.
34. S.Z. Feb. 18, 1936; *Molot*, Feb. 11, 1936; I. March 5, 1936.
35. P. Dec. 17, 1935; I. June 6, 1936.
36. P. Dec. 19, 1935; S.Z. Feb. 2, 1936. As reported in 1945, from 1917 to 1944. Pushkin's works were sold in 31,618,000 copies.
37. *Krasnaya Nov*, 1936, No. 1; I. Nov. 11, 1935, and P. Jan. 29, 1936.
38. *Krasnaya Nov*, 1939, No. 1.
39. I. Jan. 25, May 25, 1942; May 26 and July 28, 1943.
40. I. Apr. 14, 1943 and May 1, 1944.
41. I. Apr. 14, 1943.
42. I. Apr. 4, Oct. 11, 1942; July 11, Nov. 4, 1943; June 6 and 13, 1944.
43. I. Apr. 17, 1939, June 6 and Nov. 9, 1941. See also numerous essays by Alexis Tolstoy and Ilya Ehrenburg.
44. The number of federal republics was 4 in 1923, 7 in 1924, 11 in 1936, and 16 in 1940. In 1940, the greatest of the federal republics, the RSFSR, included 17 autonomous republics (today there are 15), 9 national districts, 93 national regions, and 830 national Soviets (I. Feb. 18, 1936).
45. In 1936, education was given in 112 different languages, out of which half possessed special alphabets, but only thirty elaborated grammars (P. Oct. 10, 1936).
46. The main speeches were delivered at a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Republic, Apr. 26, 1925, and at a session of the Union Congress of the Soviets, May 25, 1925.
47. The timing of the reform points rather to outward than inward preoccupations of the authors. It has been reported that at the Moscow conference (October, 1943) Molotov displayed great interest in the structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations, especially in the rights of the dominions concerning foreign policy. The change in the Constitution took place after the USSR had been denied particular representation for each of the constituent republics in the Committee for the study of German atrocities.
48. K.P. Feb. 14, 1938.
49. I. Feb. 2, 1936; March 14, 1938; Apr. 11, 1939; P. March 18,

1934; K.P. Oct. 4, 1937; Z.K.P. May 30, 1934; Oct. 24, 1935; Aug. 27, 1938; K.Z. Apr. 21, 1939.

50. These statements are typical of the new attitude: "The Russian people is the first among the equal members of the Soviet family of peoples" (Scherbakov, I. Jan. 22, 1942). "The Russian people is atop the fraternity of the Soviet peoples" (Alexis Tolstoy, I. Dec. 10, 1942). *Apropos* the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bashkir autonomous republic, it was emphasized that the Bashkir people was able to advance "under the protection of the great Russian people" (I. March 23, 1944).
51. *Krasnaya Nov*, 1939, No. 1; I. Jan. 14, 1944.

CHAPTER VIII

1. See, for instance, Nathan Berman, "Juvenile Delinquency in the Soviet Union," *Am. Journ. Sociology*, March, 1937.
2. A. Kollontay, "The Family and the Communist State" (R. 1919), p. 8; N. Bukharin, *Proceedings of the XIII Congress of the Communist Party* (R. 1924), p. 545.
3. Cf. John Hazard in "Law and the Soviet Family," *Wisconsin Law Review* (1939, p. 245).
4. First by the decree of December 17 and 18, 1917, later on consolidated and expanded by the Family Code of October 22, 1918.
5. Decision of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR, reported in *Sudebnaya Praktika,* 1929, No. 20.
6. I. July 7, 1935.
7. P. June 4 and 26, 1935; *Molodaya Gvardiya,* 1935, No. 1.
8. *Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost,* 1939, No. 2.
9. I. Sept. 9, 1935; P. Sept. 11, 1935.
10. I. July 7, 1937; K.G. Nov. 4, 1934.
11. New York *Times,* Nov. 18, 1936.
12. I. Feb. 12, 1937.
13. New York *Times,* July 11, 1944.
14. For instance, by Arkhangelski, member of the Academy of Sciences, I. June 5, 1935.
15. K.P. June 7 and Sept. 29, 1935; P. Aug. 4, 1935.
16. *Sovetskaya Yustitsia,* 1939, No. 4.
17. I. Oct. 23, 1935.
18. *Na putyach k novoi shkole,* 1923, No. 1.
19. Quoted by Paul N. Ignatieff, in P. Malevski-Malevich, *Russia, USSR* (1933), p. 666.
20. This permitted the appointment to faculties of persons with little training in science, but of high loyalty to the regime.

21. S. Hessen, in *Sovremennya Zapiski,* vol. 59 (1935), pp. 445-458.
22. *Na putyach k novoi shkole,* 1923, No. 2.
23. By N. Ognev (R. 1926). English translation available.
24. This report is quoted (though in another translation) in N. A. Hans and S. Hessen, *The Educational Policy in Soviet Russia,* (1930), pp. 23-24.
25. *Narodnoye Prosveschenye v 1925–6 godu,* p. 110.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Z.K.P. Oct. 18, 1935.
28. *Narodnoye Prosveschenye,* 1927, Nos. 11-12.
29. U.G. May 25, 1938.
30. This was fully acknowledged in 1944 when the ignorance of many teachers was explained by the fact that they had been trained under methods later on condemned by the highest authorities (I. Apr. 5, 1944).
31. Z.K.P. May 23, 1934; July 2, 1935; Jan. 1, 1935.
32. K.G. Sept. 9, 1935.
33. From a speech delivered by the Commissar of Public Education, Bubnov, April 21, 1933.
34. I. Sept. 11 and 13, 1935.
35. I. Jan. 8, 1944.
36. P. Oct. 30, 1935.
37. New York *Times,* Oct. 17, 1943.
38. I. Apr. 7, Aug. 10, Dec. 1, 1943.
39. I. Aug. 8 and 10, 1943; Jan. 8, 1944. On June 21, 1944, all the reforms relating to the school order were consolidated in a decree "On measures aiming at the improvement of education in schools." However, in 1945 the government had to emphasize that pupils not having acquired the art of faultless spelling could not graduate from schools (K.P. Apr. 29, 1945). Teachers who displayed leniency in checking mistakes were severely scolded (U.G. May 26 and June 2, 1945).
40. P. Feb. 7, 1936.
41. P. 1939, No. 115.
42. Z.K.P. Feb. 8, 1936.
43. P. March 7, 1936.
44. *Krasnaya Nov,* 1936, No. 3; Z.K.P. Dec. 12, 1936.
45. I. Sept. 9, 1938.
46. Reproduced from N. S. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia* (1942), p. 23. By permission of Sheed and Ward, publishers.
47. For a complete study of these measures see the book quoted above, pp. 21 ff.
48. *Ibid.,* p. 65.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
50. The new formulation of the Doctrine was completed in December, 1938, and put into force in January, 1939.
51. For a complete survey of the New Religious Policy up to 1942, see the book quoted in note 46, pp. 112 ff.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 ff. See also New York *Times*, April 25 and 26, 1943, and April 17, 1944.
53. New York *Times*, Nov. 5, 1942.
54. I. Nov. 10 and Dec. 29, 1942; Nov. 12, 1943.
55. I. Sept. 5, 1943.
56. I. Sept. 12, 1943.
57. The Archbishop's visit to Moscow and his statements relating to it have been reported in the New York *Times*, Sept. 15, 19, 23 and 24, Oct. 11, 1943, and April 8, 1944.
58. New York *Times*, Sept. 12, 1943.
59. *Soviet War News* (published in London), Apr. 27, 1943.
60. New York *Times*, Sept. 5, 1943.
61. Patriarch Sergius published a special article against the Vatican in the April, 1945, issue of *The Messenger of the Patriarchate* (R.). The pastoral letter of the council was published in P. Feb. 5, 1945.
62. Letter to Metropolitan Benjamin, the Patriarch's representative in North America, published in N.R.S. Feb. 22, 1944.
63. I. May 21, 1944.
64. P. Feb. 1, 2, 5 and 7, 1945.
65. *Information Bulletin, Embassy of the USSR*, Apr. 20, 1944.
66. Released by the *Religious News Service* in August, 1944; quoted by permission.
67. New York *Times*, Jan. 8, 1944.
68. Released by the *Religious News Service* in August, 1944; quoted by permission.
69. New York *Times*, August 4, 1943.
70. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1943.
71. Released by *Religious News Service* in September and October, 1944; quoted by permission.
72. *Bezbozhnik*, 1940, No. 4.

CHAPTER IX

1. *Proceedings of the XIII Congress of the Communist Party* (R. 1925), pp. 538-9.
2. The German Ministry of Propaganda was an imitation of that department.
3. Kurt London, *The Seven Soviet Arts* (1937).

4. New York *Times*, Aug. 15, 1944.
5. I. Jan. 13 and May 11, 1942; March 20 and 23, 1943.
6. *Vozrozhdenye* (Russian daily published in Paris), April 4, 1932.
7. Zaideman and Zwieback, *The Class Enemy of the Historical Front* (R. 1931).
8. N. Sokolova, *Mir Iskusstva* (1934), pp. 9, 10 and 32.
9. M. Reissner, *Law, Our Law, Law of Others* (R. 1925), p. 244.
10. E. Pashukanis, *General Theory of Law* (R. 1929); *The Proletarian State and the Building of Classless Society* (R. 1932).
11. Lenin, *Collected Works* (R.), vol. 10, p. 39.
12. *Under the Banner of Marxism* (R.) 1930, No. 5.
13. P. Oct. 19 and Nov. 22, 1938.
14. K.P. Apr. 24, 1939.
15. I. Jan. 27, 1936.
16. P. March 27, 1937.
17. *Krasnaya Gvardiya*, 1937, No. 10-11.
18. P. Nov. 15, 1938.
19. *Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo*, 1936, No. 4.
20. *Sovetskaya Zakonnost*, 1938, No. 1.
21. *Sovetskaya Yustitsia*, 1938, Nos. 13 and 16.
22. *Sovetskaya Zakonnost*, 1937, No. 8.
23. *Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo*, 1938, Nos. 3 and 4.
24. *Bolshevik*, 1938, No. 22, and 1939, No. 1; *Propaganda i agitatsia*, 1929, No. 2; K.P. June 14, 1939; U.G. Apr. 17, 1939.
25. In the course of the year 1944, interesting polemics were waged between American observers of Russia (Walt Lissner in the New York *Times*, and Maurice Hindus in the New York *Herald Tribune*). The text is an attempt to show the real change in correct historical perspective. Cf. P. A. Baran, "New Trends in Russian Economic Doctrine," *The American Economic Review*, December, 1944.
26. New York *Times*, December 14 and 27, 1936.
27. S.Z. June 14, 1939.
28. *Novyi Mir*, 1934, Nov. 5.
29. From 1923 on, there were plays on Zagnug's revolt in Babylonia, Spartacus in Rome, the French Revolution, and Russia's revolutionary past. A State repertory Committee was created to select appropriate plays.
30. Z.K.P. Aug. 11, 1938.
31. P. June 10, 1939.
32. I. Sept. 3, 1934.
33. I. Sept. 5, 1939.
34. P. Dec. 17, 1935.

35. *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Feb. 28, 1935.
36. K.P. June 14, 1935; I. Aug. 28, 1935; P. Oct. 13, 1935.
37. I. Jan. 1, 1936; P. Jan. 20, 1936; S.Z. Jan. 15, 1936.
38. P. Jan. 16, 1939.
39. V.M. Apr. 4, 1939.
40. P. Dec. 4, 1935; Z.K.P. Jan. 8, 1936; P. Feb. 8, 1936; S.Z. Feb. 3, 1936.
41. P. Jan. 28, 1936.
42. P. Feb. 6, 1936; Z.K.P. Feb. 18, 1936.
43. P. March 25, 1936.
44. V.M. March 16, 1936.
45. I. Nov. 18, 1936.
46. P. June 7, 1936.
47. V.M. May 11, 1936, and Feb. 15, 1938; P. Feb. 13, 1938; I. May 22, July 28 and Nov. 2, 1943.
48. I. Apr. 3, 1937.
49. I. Nov. 24, 1938.
50. V.M. May 8, 1939.
51. K.P. Feb. 17, 1938; P. Apr. 16, 1939; V.M. June 15, 1939 and May 23, 1940.
52. V.M. Apr. 9, 1939.
53. I. Apr. 17, 1939.
54. P. March 25, 1940.
55. Famous for ikon-painting.
56. I. March 5, Apr. 25, Dec. 30, 1943; March 12 and Apr. 21, 1944.
57. *Op. cit., supra,* note 3, pp. 64-5.
58. New York *Herald Tribune*, July 13 and 17, 1942.
59. Ilya Ehrenburg, "The Word is a Weapon," reproduced in N.R.S. Aug. 6, 1944.
60. V.M. May 29, 1939.
61. N.R.S. July 2, 1944.
62. P. March 16, 1938.
63. N.R.S. May 6 and June 5, 1944. No change has occurred in the course of the season of 1945–6.
64. The most famous among these poems is "The Letter of a Red Army Soldier to His Friends," by K. Simonov, published in K.P. Feb. 3, 1942. It is full of references to old Russian customs and expressions of flaming patriotism; Russia is called "the dearest of all countries"; there is no reference to the Soviets or their symbols.
65. *Literatura i iskusstvo,* Oct. 23, 1943.
66. Ralph M. Ingersoll, *Action on All Fronts* (1942), p. 125.
67. I. Oct. 26, 1943.

CHAPTER X

1. Adapted from Robert MacIver, *Social Causation* (1942), pp. 303-305.
2. For the years from 1914 to 1926, see *Bulletin No. 80 of the Economic Cabinet of S. N. Prokopovicz* (R. 1931). Important additions and corrections can be found in V. P. Timoshenko, *Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem,* Stanford University, 1932, pp. 18 ff. Cf. also E. Z. Volkov, *The Dynamics of the Population of the USSR* (R. 1930).
3. *Bulletin of the Central Statistical Board,* No. 72, p. 91.
4. *USSR for 15 Years* (R.), pp. 211-212.
5. New York *Times,* Sept. 16, 1933.
6. *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet Russian Economics,* ed. by S. N. Prokopowicz, No. 4, p. 109.
7. I. Sept. 26, 1937.
8. *Vlast Sovietov,* Aug. 1938, p. 10.
9. I. June 2, 1939.
10. Sautin in *Partiinoye Stroitelstvo,* 1939, No. 12. In 1897, when a census was taken in Imperial Russia, the discrepancy was about 4%; this testifies to a decreased horizontal mobility of the population in modern Russia as compared to the prerevolutionary situation.
11. Cf. S. N. Prokopovicz, *Bulletin of the Russian Economic Institute in Prague,* No. 139 (R. 1937).
12. This is an adaptation of M. Ginsberg's and R. Sutherland's and Woodward's best-known definitions.
13. On the rise of the Russian proletariat, see A. G. Rashin, *The Origin of the Industrial Proletariat* (R. 1940).
14. Up to 1922 no electoral statistics were published. In 1922 the proportions of the disenfranchised in the countryside fluctuated between one and seven per cent (see *Vlast Sovietov,* June-July, 1922). In towns and cities it was obviously much higher.
15. In prerevolutionary Russia, the term was used to designate a *subgroup* among the rich peasants, namely, those who recklessly abused their economic superiority, often in the form of usury. After the Revolution the term was officially used to designate *all* the rich peasants; the purpose of the change was to exploit the hostile attitudes evoked by the term and to orientate them towards the rich peasants in their totality. Great skill in the manipulation of symbols is one of the characteristics of the Communist regime.
16. The role of the differential treatment as a stimulus to accelerate

collectivization was often recognized by the Soviet press. (See, e.g., *Economicheskaya Zhizn*, April 5, 1930.)
17. *Sotsialisticheskoye Stroytelstvo* (1939), p. 16.
18. The purge was a case of the metabolism of revolutionary leaders. (Cf. G. Bienstock and others, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture*, 1944, pp. 28-9.)
19. In the opinion of A. Yugov (*Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace*, 1942, pp. 228-29) the new upper group is not a definite class, since its members have no class aspirations, no class psychology, and no definite status in production. As shown in the text, these statements do not correspond to facts; moreover, Yugov obviously uses the narrow Marxian concept of class.
20. These statements were probably made on the basis of the abortive census of 1937, the findings of which never were published. See *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR* (R. 1939), pp. 309-10.
21. A. Yugov, *op. cit., supra*, note 19, p. 228.
22. David Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* (1942, p. 96), asserts that the lowest class in contemporary Soviet society, that of "forced labor," forms from eight to eleven per cent of the total population.
23. P. June 2, 1939; *Planovoe Khozyaistvo*, 1940, No. 5
24. P. Aug. 4, Sept. 8 and Oct. 14, 1935.
25. I. May 22, 1934.
26. An investigation carried out by the present writer in 1935 has shown that, when using the opportunity to change the first and last names, Russian men (but not women) chose the most familiar and inconspicuous ones.
27. This tragedy is well shown in Panteleimon Romanov's story, *Without Cherry Blossom* (R. 1926) (English translation available).
28. P. Nov. 13, 1934; July 9, 1935; K.P. Oct. 10, 1934.
29. P. Nov. 13, 1934; K.P. July 28, 1935; I. Sept. 27, 1935.
30. P. Nov. 28, 1934.
31. K.P. Jan. 20 and Aug. 27, 1935; I. Feb. 6, 1936.
32. P. July 7, 1935, and May 1, 1936.
33. I. July 2 and Oct. 2, 1934; K.P. Aug. 28, 1935.
34. P. Sept. 3, 1935.
35. E. Mercier, *USSR, Reflections* (1936), pp. 97-99.
36. V.M. June 7, 1939.
37. Anton S. Makarenko, *Letters to the Parents* (R. 1940).
38. K.P. July 27, 1935.
39. New York *Times*, Nov. 22, 1938.

40. Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, vol. 3 (1937), pp. 525-26.
41. A. Gertenson, *Soviet Criminal Statistics* (R. 1935), p. 65.
42. M. S. Callcott, *Russian Justice*, 1935, pp. 203 ff.
43. *Sovetskaya Yustitsia*, 1935, No. 10.
44. *Ibid.*, 1935, No. 20; 1936, No. 4; 1937, No. 12.
45. From a speech by A. Vyshinski (general prosecutor of the Soviet Union) delivered in January, 1936.
46. For a detailed account of the change, see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *op. cit., supra*, note 40, pp. 563-4.
47. This is perhaps the reason why foreign observers were unable to discover special institutions for political offenders. (Cf. J. Gillin, "Russia's Penal Court and Penal System," *Journal of Criminal Law*, 1933–4, p. 305, note 5.)
48. This code seems to be unknown to the majority of the investigators of the Soviet system of punishment; an exception is represented by M. S. Callcott.
49. V. M. Apr. 19, 1935.
50. *Sovetskaya Zakonnost*, 1937, No. 3.

CHAPTER XI

1. The significance of the phase concept in the study of social phenomena is stressed by P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1941), vol. 4, pp. 389 ff. The failure to understand that revolution is not necessarily a two-phase process is the major shortcoming of Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution* (1938) where the whole perspective of the Russian Revolution is vitiated by its subsumption under the two-phase scheme. The scheme appears also in P. A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States* (1944) wherein a destructive and post-destructive phase are distinguished. In another variety, the scheme is used by Sir Bernard Pares in *Russia and the Peace* (1944). The author holds that, after 1921, Russia was ruled by Communists who no longer practiced Communism. Somehow, the whole Second Socialist Offensive has disappeared from his mental horizon.
2. Cf. N. Bukharin's speech at the XIIIth Congress of the Communist Party (*Proceedings*, R., p. 555).
3. The danger of "counterrevolution" was recognized in Kamenev's speech at the XIVth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (I. 1925, No. 296).
4. In 1944, on the occasion of a Mendeleyev celebration, it was acknowledged that the great scientist had anticipated the program of industrialization (I. March 30, 1944).

CHAPTER XII

1. On these precepts see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937), vol. 2, pp. 576 ff.
2. The terms "internal and external barbarians" are used in the same sense as "internal and external proletariat" in Arthur Toynbee's *Study of History* (1936–9).
3. This is the application of one of the basic theorems of modern sociology formulated as "the principle of the restoration of equilibrium" in Vilfredo Pareto's *Mind and Society*. P. A. Sorokin (*op. cit., supra*, note 1, pp. 677 ff.) objects to the term, but recognizes the existence of the phenomenon.
4. A few blueprints elaborated by extremists were published in Moscow to ridicule them. A province offered to develop its coal industry so as to cover fifteen to eighteen times the needs of the Union, and this in five years.
5. The gradual disillusionment of the planners appears from these figures. The first draft of the Second Five-Year-Plan (1931) foresaw for 1937 (the last year of the plan period) the production of 450 million tons of coal and 150 million tons of cast iron. The second draft discussed by the Party Conference in 1932 reduced these figures to 250 and 100 million tons respectively, and the third draft discussed by the Party Congress in 1934 dropped the figures to 152 and 38 million. In actuality, 127 million tons of coal and 14.5 million tons of cast iron were produced in 1937.
6. Cf. D. Fedotoff-White, *The Growth of the Red Army* (1944), pp. 368-9.

CHAPTER XIII

1. This, for instance, is the procedure used by A. Rhys Williams in *The Russians* (1943).
2. This is one of the main methods recommended by Max Weber.
3. Nowadays, Stalin acknowledges that after the war Russia will have to double her railway network.
4. The procedure behind the computation is shown in the present author's paper, "Overcoming Illiteracy," *Russian Review*, Autumn, 1942, p. 88.
5. The similarity between the conditions and the lines of development of the two countries is the main topic of Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States* (1944).
6. Here is a recent statement: "Russian patriotism does not preclude respect for the cultures of other nations" (I. Nov. 4, 1943). In an editorial from *Izvestia*, one can find these statements: "We are fighting for freedom, culture, justice, honesty, friendship" (March 31, 1942).

7. The expectation formulated in the text is identical with that of Manya Gordon, *Russian Workers Before and After Lenin* (1914), p. 341, and H. R. Knickerbocker, *Is Tomorrow Hitler's?* (1941), p. 123. It is opposed by D. Fedotoff-White, *The Growth of the Red Army*, p. 350.
8. See, for instance, Sir Walter Citrine, *I Search for the Truth in the USSR* (1936), *passim*.
9. P. Dec. 30, 1935.
10. Walter Graebner, *Round Trip to Russia* (1943), p. 168.
11. Ralph M. Ingersoll, *Action on All Fronts* (1942), p. 79.
12. *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet Russian Economics*, edited by S. N. Prokopowicz, Nos. 1-2, p. 56.
13. W. Graebner, *op. cit., supra*, note 10, p. 168.
14. P. May 20, 1939.
15. P. May 9, 1941.
16. The provision basket is an ingenious device introduced in 1928 by the International Labor Office to compare real wages at different times and places. The authorities referred to in the text are the *Quarterly Bulletin* (*supra*, note 12) No. 1, p. 55, and Leonard E. Hubbard, *Soviet Labor and Industry* (1942), p. 165. Cf. also Manya Gordon, *Russian Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941), *passim*.
17. Henry E. Sigerist, *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union* (1937), pp. 70-77.

CHAPTER XIV

1. New York *Times*, Sept. 27, 1944.
2. Numerous investigations carried out in the 'twenties and early 'thirties showed that the village and township meetings met more often than the rural Soviets. Cf. Murugov and Kolesnikov, *The Apparatus of the Rural Soviets* (R. 1926), pp. 44 and 112; see also Fenomenov, *The Contemporary Village* (R. 1925), p. 34, and Yakovlev, *Our Village* (R. 1925), pp. 129-140. In some places, these meetings were held every week (I. 1926, No. 233). In these meetings, the disenfranchised were permitted to participate (I. 1926, No. 177). This testifies to the democratic spirit of the Russian countryside. Early in 1940, newly elected local Soviets revived the practice of convoking informal meetings of citizens to discuss such acute problems as the fuel shortage and the breakdown of transportation (*Poslednya Novosti*, Rus-

sian daily published in Paris, Feb. 19, 1940). In later years, the theme of the revival of local Soviets on the basis of active participation of the local *intelligentsia* occupied a prominent position in Soviet papers. Cf. I. Apr. 2 and 8, Aug. 4, Sept. 10, 1943; May 14 and 24, 1944.

3. This is one of the major points in P. A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States* (1944).
4. Very appropriate remarks were made to one hundred Soviet trade leaders by Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting held in Moscow in June, 1944.
5. I. Sept. 12, 1935; P. May 28 and Oct. 1, 1936.
6. G. R. Treviranus, *The Russian Revolution* (1944), does expect a forthcoming peasant revolution in favor of the wholesale return to individualistic agriculture.
7. S.Z. Sept. 9 and 12, 1935, and May 21, 1936; P. March 30, 1936; I. May 10, 1944.
8. Cf. Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Reconstruction of Europe* (1941).
9. On the territorial demands of the Soviet Union see article by the author, "The Russo-Polish Dispute," *Review of Politics*, April, 1944.
10. This is a term used by Russian historians to designate a specified period in Russian history (early seventeenth century). Arthur Toynbee in *A Study of History* (1936–9), has applied it to designate a determined stage through which, in his opinion, all societies pass after the "breakdown" of their civilizations.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

N.B. Only events mentioned in the text appear in this table.

PRIOR TO THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

988.	Christianization of Russia by Vladimir the Saint.
1237.	Russia conquered by the Tartars.
1240.	Alexander Nevsky defeats the Swedes.
1242.	Alexander Nevsky defeats the Germans.
1380.	Dimitry Donskoy, Prince of Moscow, defeats the Tartars at Kulikovo Pole.
1480.	Tartar yoke terminated.
1533–84.	Ivan the Terrible.
1605–13.	Time of Trouble.
1682–1725.	Tsar, then Emperor, Peter the Great.
1709.	Peter the Great defeats the Swedes at Poltava.
1762–96.	Catherine the Great.
1796–1801.	Paul I.
1799.	Suvorov's Italian campaign.
1801–25.	Alexander I.
1810.	State Council created.
1812.	First Patriotic War; Napoleon defeated by Kutuzov.
1813–4.	War for the liberation of Europe.
1820.	First Draft Constitution for the Russian Empire.
1825–56.	Nicholas I.
1853–6.	Crimean War.
1856–81.	Alexander II.
1861.	Emancipation of serfs.
1864.	Judicial reform. *Zemstvos* created.
1870.	Municipal self-government granted.
1877–8.	Russo-Turkish War.
1881.	Alexander II murdered by revolutionists.
1881–93.	Alexander III.
1894–1917.	Nicholas II.
1899.	The Hague conference of peace convoked by Russia.

1904–5. Russo-Japanese War.
1904–6. Preliminary (or dress-rehearsal) revolution.
1905–6. Constitutional reform.
1906. Stolypin's agrarian reform started.
1908. Law on universal education.
1912. Judicial system improved.
1914–17. Russia's participation in the First World War.
1917. February 28 (March 12) Imperial regime overthrown, provisional government formed.
October 25 (November 7) Provisional government overthrown by the Communists.

WAR COMMUNISM

1917. November 8. Land decree.
November 11. Decree on the eight-hour working day.
November 27. Workers' control of industry introduced.
December 1. Supreme Council of National Economy established.
December 18-19. Freedom of divorce granted.
1918. January 4. Finland's independence recognized.
January 17-18. Constituent Assembly convenes and is disbanded.
January 20. Decree on the separation of State and Church.
February 10. Annulment of loans of the Imperial government.
February 14. Gregorian calendar introduced.
February 19. Decree on the socialization of land.
March 10. Brest-Litovsk peace treaty with Germany ratified.
April 22. Foreign trade nationalized.
May 1. Abolition of inheritance.
May 17. Civil war begins in the south.
June 28. Decree on the nationalization of industry.
July 10. Constitution of the RSFSR enacted.
August 30. Lenin wounded by a socialist-revolutionist; Red Terror begins.
August 8. University decree.
September 25. Metric system of measures introduced.
October 16. Education Act.
December 10. Labor code promulgated.
1919. January 2. First decree on universal education.

1919. March 2. Foundation of the Comintern.
November 30. Payment for economic services of the State discontinued.
1920. February 2. Peace treaty with Estonia (first in the series).
November 16. End of civil war in European Russia.
November 20. Freedom of abortion granted.

NEP

1921. March 15. Lenin's speech inaugurates the NEP.
March 18. Riga peace treaty with Poland ratified.
March 21. State corn levies replaced by tax in kind.
August 8. Decree on the denationalization of houses.
August 8. Decree on the reorganization of State industry.
December 10. Decree on the denationalization of small-scale trade and industry.
1922. February 6. Che-ka becomes GPU.
April 16. Rapallo agreement with Germany.
June 1. Penal code promulgated.
October 11. Monetary reform.
October 30. Agrarian code promulgated.
October 31. Civil code promulgated.
1923. February 15. Code of Criminal Procedure promulgated.
April 10. Decree on the reorganization of large-scale industry.
July 6. First Constitution of the USSR enacted.
1924. January 21. Lenin's death.
July 1. Resolution of the Central Committee on literature.
August 8. Trade agreement with England.
November 27. Trotsky dismissed from position of war commissar.
1925. May 9. Stalin's speech on socialism in one country.
1926. February 15. Decree on unrestricted inheritance.
September 28. Pact of nonaggression with Lithuania.
1927. November 12. Stalin gets rid of Zinovyev and Kamenev.
1928. July 17-September 12. Sixth Congress of the Comintern.
August 31. The USSR signs the Briand-Kellogg pact.
1929. January 7. Decree on the seven-hour work day.

SECOND SOCIALIST OFFENSIVE

1929. April 29. First Five-Year-Plan ratified by the Party Congress.
July 22. Bukharin falls in disgrace.
August 22. Decree on uninterrupted work.
December 27. Stalin's speech on the liquidation of the *kulaks.*
December 29. Stalin's fiftieth birthday anniversary used for the official recognition of his leadership.

1930. January 7. Resolution of the Central Committee on the new tasks of Marxist philosophy.
March 2. Stalin's letter on "Dizziness from Success."
March 15. Mitigation of collectivization and religious persecution.

1931. January 15. Resolution of the Central Committee on Dialectical Materialism.
September 5. Resolution of the Central Committee on shortcomings in the school system.

1932. January 26. Nonaggression pact with Finland.
March 26. Decree on "one cow."
August 7. Decree on death penalty for theft of collective property.
September 5. Second Resolution of the Central Committee on shortcomings in the school system.
September 19. Resolution of the Central Committee on shortcomings in Universities.
November 29. Nonaggression pact with France signed.
December 27. Passport system introduced.
December 31. First Five-Year-Plan terminated.

1933. January 30. Rural political sections created.
March 1. Resolution of the Central Committee on socialist realism.
July 2. Skrypnik, Ukrainian commissar for public education, commits suicide.

THE GREAT RETREAT

1934. April 24 and 26. Resolutions of the Central Committee on political education.
June 8. Fatherland reappears in the Soviet press.
June 11. GPU becomes the Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

1934. September 18. The USSR joins the League of Nations.
November 30. Bread rations abolished.
December 1. Kirov assassinated.

1935. February 5. Forthcoming constitutional reform announced.
March 15. New *kolhoz* statute promulgated.
April 7. Death penalty introduced for children over the age of twelve guilty of atrocious offenses.
May 2. Mutual assistance pact with France signed.
July 25. Seventh Congress of the Comintern begins.
September 27. Military ranks restored.
November 6. Stalin applauds a performance of folk songs and dances.
November 17. Three thousand Stakhanovites meet Stalin.

1936. January 28. Attack on formalism in art begins.
June 27. Decree on divorce and abortion.
August 19-23. First Moscow trial.
December 5. Stalin's Constitution promulgated.

1937. January 23-28. Second Moscow trial.
May 27. Pushkin's centennial celebrated.
June 12. Tukhachevski and other Red generals liquidated.
July 9. Electoral law published.
December 12. Elections to the Supreme Soviet held.
December 31. Second Five-Year-Plans terminated.

1938. March 2-8. Third Moscow trial.
November 15. Curb of political education in Universities.
December ? Resolution on New Religious Policy (unpublished).

1939. May 3. Litvinov dismissed.
May 27. Curb of individual lots within the *kolhozes* decreed.
August 23. Pact with Hitler.
September 17. The USSR annexes Eastern Poland.
November 30. Winter war with Finland begins.
December 20. Stalin's prizes instituted.
December 28. *Kolhoz* planning decentralized.

1940. March 15. Peace treaty with Finland.
June 26. Sunday restored as the official rest day.

1940. June 28. Annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.
May 7. Ranks of generals and admirals restored.
August 2-6. Annexation of the Baltic States.
August 18. Decree on the compulsory transfer of engineers and technicians.
October 2. Decree on fees in high school and University.
October 2. Decree on Labor Reserves.
November 4. Ranks for noncommissioned officers introduced.

1941. January 9. Decree on the decentralization of industrial planning.
February 5. Commissariat for public security created.
May 6. Stalin becomes chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars.
June 22. Hitler attacks Russia.
August 8. First Slavic Congress held in Moscow.

1942. April 17. Work obligations of *kolhoz* members lifted.
April 25. Second Slavic Congress held in Moscow.
May 21. Order of the Patriotic War created.
June 12. Alliance with England ratified.
June 21. Decree on the improvement of education in schools promulgated.
July 7. Orders of Suvorov, Kutuzov, and Alexander Nevsky created.
November 4. Commission for the investigation of German atrocities created.

1943. January 7. Epaulettes for officers introduced.
May 15. Ranks for diplomatists created.
May 22. Comintern dissolved.
August 8. Conference on public education decrees end of co-education.
August 22. Suvorov schools created.
August 25. Ranks for public prosecutors created.
September 8. The Russian Orthodox Church elects a Patriarch.
October 9. Uniforms for diplomats introduced.
October 12. Order of Bogdan Khmelnitsky created.
November 10. Orders of Victory and of Glory created.
December 19. A new national anthem replaces the International.

1944. February 1. Constitutional reform.

1944. May 15. Death of Patriarch Sergius.
July 8. Second Divorce decree.

1945. January 31-February 2. A National Council of the Russian Orthodox Church convenes in Moscow.
March 11. A new inheritance law is promulgated.
May 9. War against Germany terminated.
June 26. Stalin is granted the title of Generalissimo.

APPENDIX II

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE I

Population in Millions

AREA OF THE USSR

Date	Type of Enumerator	Total	Urban	Rural	Per Cent Rural Population
1897, February 8..	Census	106.0	12.2	93.8	88.5
1914, January 1...	Estimate	138.1	25.4	112.7	81.6
1917, January 1...	Estimate	140.2	30.4	109.8	78.3
1920, August 26...	Partial Census	134.2–134.5	19.7	114.5–114.8	85.3
1923, January 1...	Estimate	135.9	21.7	114.2	84.0
1926, December 17	Census	147.0	26.3	120.7	82.6
1932, January 1...	Estimate	163.2	35.6	127.6	78.2
1934, January 1...	Estimate	159.0	No Data	No Data	No Data
1937, January 6...	Census	164.2	49.7	114.5	69.8
1939, January 17..	Census	170.5	55.9	114.6	67.2

TABLE II

SOWING AREA, HARVEST, AND CATTLE

Year	Sowing Area (*millions of hectares*)	Grain Harvested (*millions of metric tons*)	Cotton	Flax (*millions of quintals*)	Sugar Beets	Horses (*millions*)	Horned Cattle (*millions*)	Sheep (*millions*)	Pigs (*millions*)
1913........	116.7	81.6	7.4	3.3	109.0				....
1916........	106.5	62.3	...	...		35.8	60.6	113.0	20.9
1922........	77.7	56.3	...	...		21.5	45.8	84.2	12.1
1928........	113.0	73.3	8.2	...		33.5	70.5	146.7	26.0
1932........	134.0	69.8	12.7	3.2	101.4	19.6	40.7	52.1	11.6
1933........	129.0	80.0†	12.7	5.0	65.6	16.6	38.6	50.6	12.1
1934........	131.4	80.0†	11.8	5.3	113.6	15.3	42.4	50.9	14.2
1935........	132.8	80.0†	17.2	5.5	162.1	15.5	49.2	60.1	22.2
1936........	133.7	74.4†	23.9	5.8	168.3	16.6	56.7	73.7	30.5
1937........	135.3	108.0†	25.8	5.7	218.6	16.7	57.0	81.2	22.8
1938........	136.9	85.4†	26.9	5.5	166.8	17.5	63.2	102.5	30.6
1940........	139.7	94.4†	25.1	4.9	222.0		...		....

† Estimates; official data concern crops *in field*.

TABLE III

COLLECTIVIZATION

Date	Number of *Kolhozes* (*thousands*)	Total Number of Homesteads (*millions*)	Number of Collectivized Homesteads (*millions*)	Per cent of Homesteads Collectivized	Per cent of Sowing Area Collectivized
1929, June 1........	33	24.5	0.4	1.7	4.9
1930, January 30....	59		4.4	16.9	....
1930, February 10...	103		10.9	42.4	....
1930, March 1......	110		14.3	55.0	....
1930, May 15.......	82		5.8	24.1	....
1931, June 1........	211	24.7	13.0	52.7	67.8
1932, June 1........	211		15.0	61.5	....
1933, June 1........	224	23.6	15.2	64.4	....
1934, June 1........	235		15.9	73.0	....
1935, July 1........	246	20.9	17.3	82.8	94.1
1936, April 1.......	246	20.6	18.3	89.0	....
1937, April 1.......	241	19.9	18.5	93.0	....
1938, April 1.......	242		18.8	93.5	....
1939, November 1...	242	20.3	18.8	94.0	96.9

TABLE IV

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

	1913	*1920*	*1928*	*1932*	*1933*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*	*1939*	*1940**
All producers' goods (1).........		...	8.2	23.1	25.4	30.5	36.3	42.2	55.3	62.1		83.9
All consumers' goods (1).........		...	10.1	20.2	21.5	23.4	25.3	27.9	40.4	44.0		53.6
All goods (1)........		...	19.3	43.3	46.9	53.9	61.6	70.1	95.7	106.8		137.5
Coal (2)............	28.9	6.7	35.4	64.7	76.2	93.9	109.0	126.2	127.1	132.0		164.7
Pig iron (2).........	4.3	0.3	3.3	6.2	7.2	10.4	12.5	14.5	14.5	14.6		14.9
Oil (2)............	9.4	3.9	11.7	22.3	22.5	25.6	26.8	29.2	30.6	32.3		34.2
Electrical power (3)..	2.0	...	5.0	13.0	16.4	21.0	26.3	33.0	36.4	39.6	40.1	.....
Copper (4)..........	31.0	...	30.0	46.7	45.4	53.3	76.0	100.7	97.5	103.2		166.0
Automobiles and trucks (5).........	0.1	...	0.7	23.9	49.7	72.4	96.1	132.8	200.0	211.4	194.9	.....
Tractors (5)........		...	1.3	50.6	78.1	94.4	113.6	111.9	80.3	105.0		.....
Locomotives (5).....	0.6	...	0.5	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.6	.....
Freight cars (5).....	11.8	0.5	10.6	20.2	21.6	33.5	90.8	75.9	59.0	49.1		51.0
Cotton fabrics (6)....	2,227	151	2,742	2,417	2,586	2,732	2,632	3,299	3,450	3,491		3,800
Woolen fabrics (6)...	95	...	93.2	88.7	83.0	73.7	80.0	97.5	108.3	114.0		123.0
Leather shoes (7)....	8.3	...	29.6	84.7	80.2	75.7	84.8	104.5	164.2	213.0	148.3	.....
Sugar (4)...........	1,360	150	1,283	1,403	995	1,402	2,200	2,100	2,431	2,520		1,622
Paper (4)...........	205	41	165	479	506	566	641	702	833	834		.....

(1) Billion rubles, in prices of 1926–7. (2) Million metric tons. (3) Billion kw/h. (4) Thousands metric tons. (5) Thousands. (6) Billion meters. (7) Million pairs. *Including the areas annexed in 1939–40.

TABLE V

RAILWAYS

Years	Length of the network (*thous. klm.*)	No. of locomotives (*thousands*)	No. of freight cars (*thousands*)	Freight (*billion ton/klm.*)
Area of the Empire				
1882	21.5		...	....
1901	51.9		...	....
1913	59.4	16	535	65.7
1917	70.0		...	....
Area of the USSR				
1917	59.0		...	.....
1920		7.5	...	.....
1928	76.5	17.8	510	93.4
1932	83.4	19.5	538	169.3
1937	86.4	25.2	684	416.0
1939			...	392.0
New Area (after the annexations)				
1940	100.0		...	409.0

TABLE VI

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Years	Total Population (*in millions*)	Number of Pupils in Elementary Schools (*in thousands*)	Index of Education (*in percentages*)
Area of the Empire			
1880	98	1,141	1.16
1891	115	2,559	2.22
1894	121	3,275	2.80
1898	129	4,203	3.26
1903	139	5,237	3.76
1911	157	6,981	4.32
1915	165	8,147	4.93
Area of the USSR			
1914–5	140	7,236	5.1
1920	134	9,207	6.9
1922	137	6,808	5.0
1928–9	154	10,468	6.8
1930–1	161	15,609	9.9
1933–4	159	17,873	11.2
1938–9	170	21,288	12.5

TABLE VII

LITERACY

In percentages of the population over 10 years of age

	Total Population	Urban Population	Rural Population	Men	Women
1897. Census	27	38	23	38	17
1914. Estimate	40	..	..	..	..
1926. Census	51	66	45	66	37
1939. Census	81	90	76	91	73

APPENDIX III

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Only books available in English are listed.

Brief but good surveys of Russia's past, in chronological order, are offered by George Vernadsky, *History of Russia* (1936), and Sir Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia* (1944). A valuable addition is Benedict H. Sumner, *A Short History of Russia* (1943) presenting the facts by topics.

Russia's economic history is treated in Chapters 14, 29, and 38 of W. H. Bowden, Michael Karpovich, and Abbott Usher, *An Economic History of Europe since 1750* (1937). More details on the prerevolutionary period may be found in James Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia* (1925), and Margaret S. Miller, *Economic Development of Russia* (1926). For the historical development of Russian culture, the standard work is Paul N. Miliukoff, *Outlines of Russian Culture* (English translation edited by Michael Karpovich, 3 vols., 1942), treating religion, literature, the figurative arts, and music. On religious developments in the early twentieth century, see also John Shelton Curtiss, *Church and State in Russia, 1900–17* (1940). On literature after 1880 see also Dmitri S. Mirsky, *Contemporary Russian Literature* (1926), and Ernest J. Simmons, *An Outline of Modern Russian Literature* (1943).

The state of Russia on the eve of the revolutionary breakdown is described in Sir John Maynard, *Russia in Flux; Before October* (1943) and in numerous volumes of the *Economic and Social History of the World War, Russian Series*, 12 vols. (1928–32); especially important are the volumes on agriculture (by Alexis N. Antsiferoff and others) and on education (by Paul I. Novgorodtseff and others). The particular standpoint of the Eurasians (a group emphasizing the Asiatic influence on Russia) somewhat impairs the otherwise excellent symposium, *Russia, the USSR* (ed. by Peter A. Malevsky-Malevich, 1933), with data on Russia before and after the Revolution. Also very good is Manya Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941), which gives much more information than announced by the title, namely, a detailed survey of numerous phases of Rus-

sian life before and after the Revolution. On conditions in rural areas, Gregory A. Pavlovsky, *Agricultural Russia on the Eve of the Revolution* (1930), and Geroid T. Robinson, *Rural Russia Under the Old Regime* (1932), give detailed and reliable information.

The philosophy of Marxism is best presented by Waldemar Gurian, *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice* (1932), and Charles J. MacFadden, *The Philosophy of Communism* (1939). Harold Laski's *Communism*, and Sidney Hook's *Toward the Understanding of K. Marx* (1933) give to Marxism an interpretation quite at variance with that of Lenin. For the latter's interpretation, the best source is naturally his *Collected Works* (no complete English translation available). The official doctrine as taught in the earlier years after the revolution is reproduced in Nikolai I. Bukharin, *Historical Materialism* (1925). The modern version of the Doctrine is to be found in Joseph Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism* (1941).

The events which were directly leading to the Revolution are described in Michael T. Florinsky, *The End of the Russian Empire* (1931), and Sir Bernard Pares, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (1939), a book full of insight and understanding.

Among the numerous narrations of the revolutionary events, the most reliable is William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (2 vols. 1935) whereas Leo Trotsky's *The Russian Revolution* (1932) is a brilliantly told story, but by one of the actors from an entirely personal point of view.

General works on Russia under Soviet rule differ widely according to the time of their writing and the point of view of the author. The official standpoint, in addition to the numerous but usually short statements of the leaders, is best expressed in Eugene Varga, *Two Systems, Socialist Economy and Capitalist Economy* (1939). The standpoint of Russian liberals and moderate socialists is represented by Nikolai Bazily, *Russia Under Soviet Rule* (1939), and Manya Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941), with some qualification, also by the symposium, *Russia, the USSR* (ed. by Peter A. Malevsky-Malevich, 1933). The standpoint of Socialists rather in sympathy with the Communist Experiment is represented by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism* (2 vols., 1935), and Margaret Cole (editor), *Twelve Studies in Soviet Russia* (1933), whereas the disappointment of Radicals, Socialists, and Communists by the turn of events after 1934 is the central theme of Leo Trotsky, *Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Max Eastman, *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis of Socialism* (1940), and E. Strauss, Soviet Russia (1941). What can be classified as attempts at impartial presentation are Michael T. Florinsky, *Toward an Understanding of the USSR*

(1939), where The Great Retreat is not yet grasped as a new period in the development; Harry Best, *The Soviet Experiment* (1941), impaired by an erroneous interpretation of pre-Revolutionary Russia and the presentation of the Communist Experiment as a straight line process; William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Enigma* (1943), clear and mostly correct (not quite so in chapters on pre-Revolutionary Russia), and G. R. Treviranus, *The Russian Revolutions* (1944), combining the history of the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, a sketchy survey of the transformation of Russia under the Communists and a few "lessons" to the Western World. The June, 1944, issue of the *American Sociological Review* is a symposium on contemporary Russia written mostly by persons with inadequate knowledge of Russian conditions, and with no understanding of the historical perspective. Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States* (1944) emphasizes the similarity of the development of the two countries and the convergence of their contemporary trends. The thesis is brilliantly presented, but very important differences have not received adequate treatment.

Works reproducing the author's personal experience in Russia may be divided into three main groups: (1) works of Russians having lived under Soviet rule; (2) tales of foreigners who were able to write as participant observers; and (3) tales of occasional visitors.

Among the works of the first group, two books written by husband and wife deserve the greatest attention. These are Tatiana Tchernavin, *Escape from the Soviets* (1934), and Vladimir Tchernavin, *I Speak for the Silent* (1935).

Among the works of the second group, three look at Russia through the eyes of an engineer; these are George A. Burrell, *An American Engineer Looks at Russia* (1932), Allan Monkhouse, *Moscow, 1911–1913* (1934), and Walter A. Rukeyser, *Working for the Soviets* (1932).

John Scott's *Behind the Urals* (1942) reproduces the experience of a foreigner who became a Soviet worker and gives a most vivid picture of Russia in the course of the Second Socialist Offensive and The Great Retreat. The experience of disillusioned radicals is revealed in Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia* (1937), Freda Utley, *The Dream We Lost* (1940), Anton Ciliga, *The Russian Enigma* (1940), Markoosha Fischer, *My Lives in Russia* (1944) and Alexander Barmin, *One Who Survived* (1945). Joseph E. Davis, *Mission to Moscow* (1941), is the summary of observations and reflections of an ambassador; this is one of the most important documents about Russia in the course of The Great Retreat, but contains quite a few groundless generalizations and wrong interpretations.

Between the second and third groups are the numerous works of Maurice G. Hindus, especially *The Broken Earth* (1926), *Humanity Uprooted* (1933), *The Great Offensive* (1933) and *Mother Russia* (1943). The author was born in Russia and, after having emigrated to America, paid numerous visits to his mother country. The books contain good descriptions of everyday life in Russia at different stages of the Communist Experiment and The Great Retreat, but uncritically endorse many official theories. To the same intermediary category belongs Albert Rhys Williams, *The Russians: The Land, the People and Why They Fight* (1943). The author is a former Congregational Minister who was able to observe the Great Experiment in its different phases and has interpreted it as a straight line progressive movement. Also belonging to the intermediary category are books written by foreign correspondents having spent many years in Russia and having achieved real understanding of her problems. Among them the most important are: Paul Scheffer, *Seven Years in Soviet Russia* (1932), William H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age* (1935), Walter Duranty, *Duranty Reports Russia* (1934), and *The Kremlin and the People* (1941).

Among works of occasional visitors, up to the outbreak of the war, these deserve attention because of the importance of the facts reported or the personality of the author: Theodore Dreiser, *Dreiser Looks at Russia* (1928), John Dewey, *Impressions of Russia* (1929), Malcolm Muggeridge, *Winter in Russia* (1934), Edouard Herriot, *Eastward from Paris* (1934), Sir Walter Citrine, *I Search for Truth in Russia* (1936), Lion Feuchtwanger, *Moscow* (1937), and André Gide, *Return from the USSR* (1937).

Experience in Russia at war is reproduced in Erskine Caldwell, *All-out on the Road to Smolensk* (1942), Margaret Bourke-White, *Shooting the Russian War* (1942), Ralph M. Ingersoll, *Action on All Fronts* (1942), Alexander Werth, *Moscow War Diary* (1942), Wallace Carroll, *We're in This with Russia* (1942), Eve Curie, *Journey Among Warriors* (1943), Alice Moats, *Blind Date with Mars* (1945), Walter Graebner, *Round Trip to Russia* (1943), Wendell Willkie, *One World* (1943), Henry C. Cassidy, *Moscow Dateline* (1943), James E. Brown, *Russia Fights* (1943), Edgar Snow, *People on Our Side* (1944), W. L. White, *Report on the Russians* (1945), Edmund Stevens, *Russia is no Riddle* (1945), Edgar Snow, *The Pattern of Soviet Power* (1945), and Richard E. Lauterbach, *These are the Russians* (1945).

There is no adequate description in English of the political organization of the Soviet State piercing through the crust of official verbal behavior. The best approximations are Roger N. Baldwin,

Liberty Under the Soviets (1928). Walter R. Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia* (1929), Bertram W. Maxwell, *The Soviet State* (1934), and Samuel N. Harper, *The Government of the Soviet Union* (1938), whereas Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Truth About Russia* (1934), is a condensed restatement of their famous thesis according to which, under Soviet rule, the Russians enjoy a much more democratic regime than the British or Americans. On the organization of inter-ethnic relations, see Hans Kohn, *Nationalism in Soviet Russia* (1932). Because of the personal character of the regime, the biographies of the leaders are of importance; among them, these may be recommended: George Vernadsky, *Lenin* (1931), and, with qualifications, Boris Souvarine, *Stalin; Critical Study of Bolshevism* (1939). The official version appears in *Vladimir Lenin, A Political Biography* (prepared by the Marx-Engels Institute, 1943). The famous Moscow trials are reported in *The Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center* (1937); for a criticism see John Dewey (chairman) *Report of the Hearing of the Case by the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry* (1937). Some methods of the secret service are disclosed in Essad-Bey, *OGPU* (1933), and Walter S. Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service* (1939), but the books cannot be considered absolutely reliable.

The social and economic transformation of Russia under Communist rule has always been in the center of interest. The earlier phases and achievements have been described in Maurice H. Dobb and H. S. Stevens, *Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution* (1928), Aron Yugov, *Economic Trends in Russia* (1931), Calvin B. Hoover, *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia* (1931), and Lancelot Lawton, *Economic History of Soviet Russia* (1932). On the recent phase the most important is Aron Yugov, *Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace* (1942). Four books by Leonard E. Hubbard, *Soviet Money and Finance* (1936), *Economics of Soviet Agriculture* (1939), *Soviet Trade and Distribution* (1938) and *Soviet Labor and Industry* (1942), give detailed accounts of the individual phases of the economic life of the past few years. On agriculture, see also Sir John Maynard, *Collective Farming in the USSR* (1936); on industry and labor, Manya Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941). The official view on planning is expressed in V. V. Obolenski-Ossinsky, *Socialist Planned Economy in the Soviet Union* (1932); an abridged translation of the First Five-Year-Plan is available in G. T. Grinko, *The Five-Year-Plan of the Soviet Union* (1930). The best picture of the embodiment of the plan in reality is Boris Brutskus, *Economic Planning in Soviet Russia* (1935). For later years, see Gregory Bienstock, Solomon Schwarz, and Aron

Yugov, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture* (1944). For the understanding of the difficulty to judge correctly about the economic achievements of the Soviets, see Colin Clark, *Critique of Russian Statistics* (1939).

The transformation of the family and the sexual mores has been treated many times with more enthusiasm than real understanding; the individual books are Jessica Smith, *Women in Soviet Russia* (1927), Alice W. Field, *Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia* (1932), Fannina W. Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia* (1933), Ella Winter, *Red Virtue* (1933), Susan Kingsbury and Mildred Fairchild, *Factory, Family and Women in the Soviet Union* (1935), and Vera M. Fediaevsky and P. S. Hill, *Nursery Schools and Parent Education in Soviet Russia* (1937).

On the school experiment up to 1930, the standard work is Nikolaus Hans and Serge Hessen, *Educational Policy in Soviet Russia* (1930). For the later years, the best presentation available is contained in Manya Gordon, *Workers Before and After Lenin* (1941). On the political phase of education see Samuel N. Harper, *Civil Training in Soviet Russia* (1929), and *Making Bolshevists* (1931).

On religion up to 1942, see N. S. Timasheff, *Religion in Soviet Russia* (1942), and Serge Bolshakoff, *The Christian Church and the Soviet State* (1942). Paul B. Anderson, *People, Church and State in Modern Russia* (1944), is an attempt to understand the situation using the dialectical method of the Communist leaders.

On the position of science under Communism, no adequate work exists. Albert P. Pinkevich, *Science and Education in the USSR* (1935), Joseph Needham and J. S. Davis, *Science in Soviet Russia* (1942), and James Crowther, *Soviet Science* (1942), express the official view. On the development of literature under the Soviets, see Dimitri S. Mirsky, *Contemporary Russian Literature* (1926), Ernest S. Simmons, *An Outline of Modern Russian Literature* (1943), and Gleb B. Struve, *Twenty-Five Years of Soviet Russian Literature* (1944). On art, for the earlier period, René Fülöp-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* (1927), contains all the essentials; for the later period, Kurt London, *The Seven Soviet Arts* (1937), gives abundant information; the author accepts the principle of managed culture, but dislikes the actual choice of trends. On the theater, see Paul A. Markov, *The Soviet Theater* (1934), and Henry W. L. Dana, *Handbook of Soviet Drama* (1938). Chapters on literature, the arts, and music under the Soviets in Paul N. Miliukoff's *Outlines of Russian Culture* (made up to date by Michael Karpovich) must also be consulted.

The population trends in Russia are discussed in Frank W. Note-

stein and others, *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union* (1944). On the first famine (1921–22), Harold H. Fisher, *Famine in Soviet Russia* (1935), is the standard work. No similar work exists in English on the second famine (1932–33). The most complete account of the present-day class structure of Russia is given by David J. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* (1944). On socialized medicine, Nicholas A. Semashko, *Health Protection in the Soviet Union* (1934), reproduces the official standpoint, while Henry E. Sigerist, *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union* (1938), is an attempt at impartial presentation, with due recognition of the pre-Revolutionary background. On the punitive system of the Soviet Union, see Judah Zelich, *Soviet Administration of Criminal Law* (1931), Mary S. Callcott, *Russian Justice* (1935), and Lenka von Koerber, *Soviet Russia Fights Crime* (1934).

On the creation of the Comintern and the internationalist tendency in Soviet foreign policy, the best works available are: Michael T. Florinsky, *World Revolution and the USSR* (1933), Franz Borkenau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International* (1939), Olga H. Gankin and Harold H. Fisher, *The Bolshevists and the World Revolution* (1940), and Timothy A. Taracouzio, *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy* (1940). The fluctuations of Soviet foreign policy are followed by Louis Fisher (editor), *The Soviets in World Affairs* (2 vols., 1930), David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939–42* (1942), and *Russia in Post-War Europe* (1943). The author exaggerates the persistence of the internationalist tendency in the course of the past few years. A more optimistic view appears in Sir Bernard Pares, *Russia and the Peace* (1944).

The interest in the Russian Army aroused by the Finnish war and especially by Hitler's aggression resulted in the publication of numerous books on the subject. They are: Erich Wollenberg, *The Red Army* (1941), Serge N. Kournakoff, *Russia's Fighting Forces* (1942), Michel Berchin and Eliahu Ben-Horin, *The Red Army* (1942), Nikolaus Basseches, *The Unknown Army* (1943), and D. Fedotoff-White, *The Growth of the Red Army* (1944). The last is a monumental work on the organization of the army and its class and party structure, but does not discuss its spirit.

For an understanding of the interaction between the USSR and the United States, in addition to Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Russia and the United States* (1944), these books are of importance: Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade* (1941), Meno Lovenstein, *American Opinion of Soviet Russia* (1941), and John L. Childs and others, *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Post-War World* (1943).

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